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INDEX

- | | |
|--|--------------------|
| #1 The Relief Work of Japan | Naisho Publication |
| #2 Ema | Frederick Starr |
| #3 On the proposed identification of the term "Abraxas" with the Japanese Buddhist expression for the five elements "a - ba - ra - ka - kia" | Rev. Arthur Lloyd |
| #4 Memorial at Shimoda | Townsend Harris |
| #5 Development of Economic Life in Japan | Skene Smith |
| #6 Educational and Cultural Background of the Japanese people | Anonymous |
| #7 The Sakurada Affair | Ernest Clements |
| #8 The Early Inhabitants of Western Asia | Felix Luschan |
| #9 Popular Japanese Stories | George J. Penney |

7/10
11

Relief Work
of Japan





The Relief Work
of Japan



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THE RELIEF WORK OF JAPAN



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CONTENTS

PART I

The History of Relief Works

CHAPTER I

EARLY PERIOD

Relief works not neglected since the early age—Relief works in the reign of semi-divine Emperors—Relief works in the reign of human Emperors—The rise of Buddhism and a transition of relief works—The establishment of Shitennō-ji Temple and its relief work—Construction works and relief of the poor—Priest Dōshō and the construction of Uji bridge—History of “Gisō”—Relief in time of famine and epidemics—Relief in the time when there were “divine blessings”—Seyaku-in and Hiden-in by the Empress Kōmyō—Protection of orphans and relief of sufferers from epidemics—Priest Gyōki and his relief and other public works—Relief works by Wake-no-Kiyomaro and Miyake-Kasaōmaru—Ono-Minemori’s Zokumei-in, an asylum for travellers who fell ill on the road—Priest Jikaku and the protection of foundlings—The administration of Engi period and the relief of the sick—Priest Shaku-Kuhya. 1-14

CHAPTER II

MIDDLE PERIOD

Priest Shaku-Jūgen and his relief works—Hōjō-Yasutoki's relief in time of famine—Hōjō Tokimune and his charity hospital; charity works by Priest Ninshō—Kusunoki-Masashige's view of relief works—Evils of charitable administration in the Ashikaga *régime*—History and meaning of the "virtuous administration"—Different meanings of the "virtuous administration"—Uyesugi-Kenshin's administration and arrangements for emergencies—Civil administration in the times of Oda-Nobunaga and Toyotomi-Hideyoshi and relief works by the latter. 14-23

CHAPTER III

MODERN PERIOD

Relief works in the Tokugawa *régime*—The system of "Tamari"—Civil administration and relief works of Maeda Tsunanori—Census of beggars and their relief in Kaga clan—Lodgings for beggars and Beggar Kiyomitsu—Emigration of the inmates of the beggars' lodgings and the establishment of new villages—Relief works in Yedo—the Charity Hospital in Yedo—Charity Club by Miura-Baien—Charity Club and mutual relief of villagers—Charity Club and the agreement of villagers—Preservation of the agreement and common ownership of property—Nakai-Chikuzan's "Shasō-

Shigi"—Satō-Issai's method of relief—Matsudaira-Sadanobu's relief in time of famine—Establishment of the Town Association—The location and organization of the Town Association—Town association and the present Tōkyō Municipal asylum—Matsudaira-Sadanobu and the Coolies' Homes—Measures adopted by *daimyō* against the famine of Temmei era—Wise administration of Uyesugi-Harunori—Harunori's measure against famine—Three day's fast and praying at the mausoleum—Protection of sick travellers—Accumulation of rice against famine—Harunori's oath—Financial difficulties of Yonezawa clan and the distress of the people—"A Kirin in Kii and a phenix in Higo"—Two great calamities in the time of Hosokawa-Shigekata—Preparations against emergency and satisfaction of the people—Shigekata's encouragement of industry and establishment of "Jōheisō" (standing granaries)—His frugality and sympathy with his people—Tsugaru-Nobuaki's relief in time of famine—Cultivation of desolate land as a measure against bad crops—Establishment of "Gisō" (public or charity granaries) and *samurai's* farming—Saving of surplus money as fund for charity granaries—Nobuaki's command regarding provision against famine and his gifts—The Store-house in Iyo-gōri—"Gisō" at Fukuyama—The history of the Kan-nonkō society in Akita—Priest Gessen's contribution towards relief funds—Ninomiya-Sontoku and the famine of Tempō era—Restoration of Sakura-machi—Relief of sufferers from famine in Karasuyama and Odawara clans—Four principles of the teaching of Sontoku—Relief in time of famine by N. Kumagae, a merchant in Kyōto—Extract from the "Precautions Against Famine"—

Method of saving rice—Burial Society in Takanabe clan—Meirindō school in Takanabe clan—Satō-Shin'en's plan of a charity hospital—His plan of children's home and Yūji-sho (a sort of kindergarten)—His plan of a charity school—His plan of Kōsai-kan or the institution for relief and other public works—Relief of poor people and construction of bridges by Hamaguchi-Gihei—Gihei's order concerning the relief of aged people and children—His regulations for sustaining and bringing up twins—Shimatsu-Seihin's "Jōhei-sō" system—Saigō-Takamori and the "Shasō" in Okinoerabu island—Mujōkō society at Kita-yamato-mura—Kayakō society at Sanakōchi-mura—Conclusion.	23-76
--	-------

CONTENTS

v

PART II

The Present State of Relief Works

CHAPTER I

GENERAL REMARKS

Object of relief works—The benevolent administration of our Emperors—The present system of relief—The lecture classes for the promotion of reformatory works and relief enterprises—The grant of subsidies—The establishment of the Charity Organization Society—The relief of the needy families of the soldiers at the front—The help given to industry in time of war—The activity of the Imperial Soldiers Aid Association—The Patriotic Ladies Association and the Imperial Soldiers Support Association—The benevolence of the Imperial House and the local charity and relief funds—The Imperial Relief Association for the Sick and Poor. 77-85

CHAPTER II

GENERAL RELIEF WORK

The origin of the Tōkyō Municipal Asylum and its present condition—The Awa Sanatorium—The work of the Kōsai-kai. 86-89

CHAPTER III

NURTURE OF POOR CHILDREN AND ORPHANS

- The Okayama Orphanage and the farming operations of its branch orphanage at Chausubara—Honour given to Director Ishii—The special feature of the Aichi Orphanage—Carefulness in entrusting unweaned children—The work of an American lady at Okayama. 90-95

CHAPTER IV

THE NURSERIES FOR INFANTS

- Nurture of children during the war—The work of the Ladies' Public-Service Association at Kōbe—The Futaba Kindergarten and its influence on mothers. . . 96-99

CHAPTER V

HOMES FOR THE AGED

- The laudable custom in Japan of respecting old age—The Tōkyō Old People's Home—The Ono Charitable Institution. 100-102

CHAPTER VI

WORK-SUPPLY AND EMPLOYMENT OFFICES

- Relief of famine-stricken people—Help given to industry

in time of war—The work supply in Sendai—Characteristics of the Kondō Industrial Home—Immortal merits of Uesugi-Harunori—Relief of fishers in time of poor catches—The cultivation of land in the village of Shigei—Afforestation partnership—Employment offices and lodging houses—Employment offices at Toyomura and Tsurugaokamachi. 103-111

CHAPTER VII

EDUCATION OF THE MASSES

The Silk Spinning Joint-stock Company at Okayama—Welfare work at the Kanegafuchi Cotton Spinning Company—The Itō Filature conducted on the family system—The maid-servants' schools at Okayama and Niigata—Instruction of nursemaids at Nagano—The Jutoku Nursemaids' School—The library work—The circulating library conducted by the Niigata Sekizen Kumiai (Niigata Good-Promoting Society). . 112-121

CHAPTER VIII

EDUCATION OF THE BLIND AND THE DEAF-MUTE AND CARE OF STAMMERING

History of the blind and deaf-mute institutions in our country—The Tōkyō Blind School and the Tōkyō Deaf-mute School—The Nagasaki Blind and Deaf-mute School—Establishment of the Japanese Blind-men's Association—Rakuseki-sha and its treatment for stammering. 122-127

CHAPTER IX

REFORMATORY WORKS AND THE PROTECTION
OF EX-CONVICTS

Origin of the work of reforming depraved children—
Enforcement of the Reformatory Law—The Home
School conducted on the family system—The Saitama
Gakuen and its farming—Protection of discharged
prisoners by village communities—The protective work
for discharged prisoners at Shizuoka—Conditions in the
asylums for discharged prisoners—Experiments in pro-
tective work for discharged prisoners—Amnesty and
the increase in protective work for discharged prisoners
—The Hosei-kai and the central organ of the protective
work. 128-137

CHAPTER X

DISPENSARIES AND MEDICAL TREATMENT

The work of the Japanese Red Cross Society—The Tōkyō
Charitable Hospital—Establishment of the Mitsui Chari-
ty Hospital—The Tōkyō Municipal Dispensary—Ac-
tivities of the Imperial Relief Association for the Sick
and Poor—Establishment of the convalescent hospital.
. 138-143

CHAPTER XI

RICH PEOPLE'S WORK FOR THE PUBLIC WELFARE

Two celebrated endowments of long standing—Benevolent
works of rich people—Charity hospitals established by
benevolent Christians. 144-150

CONTENTS

ix

CHAPTER XII

Conclusion.	151-152
---------------------	---------



The Relief Work of Japan

Part I

The History of Relief Works

CHAPTER I

Early Period

FREQUENT mention is made in the history of Japan of relief works carried out by the government for the sake of the people. From of old it has been looked upon as the benevolent duty of Emperors to do their best to cure disease and check epidemics, to have compassion on widows and bereaved families who can not sustain themselves, and to relieve paupers. Moreover, the government has provided against emergencies or made arrangements for the mutual relief of neighbouring towns and villages. These are points worthy of admiration in our history. Not only did our old-time government undertake relief works after the occurrence of any untoward event, but they also took measures for the prevention of poverty, diseases and epidemics, or

Relief works not
neglected since
the early age.

supplied land and employment, so that the people might work diligently and laboriously without relying on others.

In the era of semi-divine Emperors, Onamuchi-nomikoto (semi-god of bravery) organized ways of curing

Relief works in the reign of semi-divine Emperors. human or even cattle diseases and propagated "charm" methods in order that harmful

birds, beasts and insects might be exterminated. Since that time, therefore, farmers have always felt grateful toward these semi-divine Emperors. These are the first charitable works mentioned in our history.

In the era of human Emperors there have been numerous instances of their having ordered relief for

Relief works in the reign of human Emperors. sufferers from famines, epidemics, or for widows, widowers, bachelors and other helpless persons. The Emperor Kensō who lived a long

time in the heart of the country and who was well acquainted with the laborious work of farmers, never grudged his best efforts towards relief work, often himself undertaking a humble task. His virtue, therefore, attracted the people of the land far and near. This

The rise of Buddhism and the transition of relief works. is a clear proof that the Emperors of the ancient times, paid attention to the relief of paupers. Afterwards when Prince Umayado (572-621)

began his energetic work for the establishment of Buddhism, the idea of relief works entertained by the government underwent some change.

They were thought by Buddhists to be accomplished by the fulfilment of the promises made to Buddha. In the era of the Emperor Yōmei, the Royal Prince Umayado

**The establishment of
Shitennō-ji temple
and its relief work.**

fought against Mononobe-Moriya for the cause of Buddha. He had previously sworn to Buddha to dedicate a temple, should he win the day; and after the battle was over he built the Shitennō-ji temple, also called the Keiden-in, in the fulfilment of the oath. Its furniture is still kept in the store-house. Just outside the temple were erected the Seyaku-in (an institution for medical attendance), the Hiden-in (an institution for relief) and the Ryōbyō-in (an institution for curing diseases). The Keiden-in dealt with education, the Hiden-in managed relief works, and the Seyaku-in and the Ryōbyō-in cured bad diseases. Thus it will be seen that royal relief works are found in the oldest history of Japan.

But it was only during the era of the Emperors Kōtoku and Mombu (7th century) that our government

**Construction works and
relief of the poor.**

began to treat these affairs with a definite system. In the history of both Occidental and Oriental countries, we see how governments gave means of liveli-

hood to the poor by starting construction works, but it might be regarded as a peculiarity of our relief works that from the hoary past they were attended to by the rulers with much eagerness and enthusiasm. In the era of the Emperor Saimei, the famous Naka-no-Oye (afterward the Emperor Tenchi, one of the wisest Emperors of Japan) was the Crown Prince. Fujiwara-no-Kamatari was also an adviser to the Emperor. In that day Japan was from time to time engaged in hostilities with a foreign country, and the Imperial palaces often suffered from fires. The Okamoto-no-miya and other palaces were then rebuilt, and at the same time, a large canal from the west of Kayama to Isokami-yama was constructed. Two hundred vessels were employed for the conveyance of stone-materials to be used for the construction of the canal. The number of coolies employed in the work reached 100,000, and the work did not escape the criticism of the people of the time on account of its enormous scale. This must have been constructed on account of the necessity for the conveyance of food and ammunition, as Japan was then engaged in the subjugation of the Ezo and Korea. But it must also have been undertaken in order to give work to tramps, and thus to accustom them to diligent labour. If the latter be the case, this great work is worthy of closest attention from the standpoint of civil administration. In the beginning of Taika (645), lived a Buddhist priest called Dōshō.

Seeing that travellers had great difficulty in crossing the river Uji owing to its rapid current, **Priest Dōshō and the construction of the Uji bridge.** he determined to remove the trouble, and planned the construction of a bridge. By going and coming a great distance, morning and night, he superintended the construction work. His painstaking efforts were at last crowned with success, and the Uji bridge was completed. As Uji was on the way to Kyōto and other important neighbouring provinces, the travellers' gratitude for his voluntary work can better be imagined than described. Many public works accomplished by Buddhist priests of the time still remain, but nothing can be more remarkable than the Uji bridge. The monument commemorating the work can still be seen at Hashi-dera, a temple on the bank of the river, and the name of the priest will long be remembered by posterity.

Of the relief works carried on with definite system, that of "Gisō" is one of the oldest. The "Gisō" (public or charity granaries) were constructed with a **History of "Gisō."** view not only to store rice received as taxes, but also to make provision for relief works. The system was established in the era of the Emperors Tenchi and Mommu, in imitation of a similar one in China. In the 2nd year of Taihō (702) a new law of seven articles was enacted in which the following passage is found:—"The taxation law

determines that rice shall be collected from all classes of people, high and low, in order to fill charity granaries for the relief of the poor. But it is unreasonable to collect from one class of poor people simply to feed another class of the poor; therefore hereafter the rice for the granaries shall be collected from the middle or upper classes exclusively." The fact shows what attention the authorities paid to the relief of the distressed people.

At first the rice was accumulated for relief purposes according to annual crops, but from the Wadō era of the Emperor Genmyō (708-714) a coinage system was adopted which proved a great convenience to economic circles. In February of the 6th year of the same era when the system of Measures, Tax, Service and "Gisō" had been instituted, the last mentioned was divided into nine classes. Moreover, seeing that the amount which had accumulated in the granaries was so small, and that it was not enough to relieve the poor in time of famines, it was ordered in May of the year, that the amount of assessment be fixed according to the annual crops. The system of using coin in payment of taxes was also established. A sum over 30 *kan* was classed as the 1st class tax, and a sum over 10 *kan* as the middle class tax; the amount of tax being different according to the provinces.

The system of "Gisō" was not the only institution

the Emperor Mombu had established. He also paid attention to many other subjects

Relief in time of in the interest of his people.
famine and epidemics. In the 2nd year of Taihō (701-703), when epidemics prevailed in the provinces of Echigo and Kōtsuke, the Emperor sent physicians to the provinces and checked the disease. In the same year Suruga, Idzu, and three other provinces suffered from a famine. The Emperor again sent messengers, and relieved the people who were on the verge of starvation. In the third year of the same era when a famine overtook the people in Kyōto and neighbouring provinces, the Emperor reduced half the amount of tax.

When the country was blessed with good omens, the court carried out special relief works in order that

Relief in the time the court might enjoy the blessing
when there were with the people at large. In the
"divine blessings." reign of the Emperor Gemmyō (708-714), some persons presented copper which had been dug in Chichibu-gōri in the province of Musashi. The Emperor was so glad of this present that he interpreted it to be a gift from Heaven and changed the title of the era to Wadō (Japanese copper). An amnesty was ordered. Farmers over 100 years of age were presented with 30 *shō* (6 pecks) of millet, those over 90 with 20 *shō* (4 pecks), and those over 80 with 10 *shō* (2 pecks), and widows and widowers

or bereaved families who could not live independently were presented each with ten *shō* of millet.

In the era of the Emperor Shōmu (699-724), relief works were greatly improved.

The Empress Kōmyō (701-760) established a charity hospital which she called the Seyaku-in. She also established an almshouse called the Hiden-in. Crippled people, widows, widowers, or all other people who could not make their livelihood were thus blessed with food and clothes. The Empress was the third daughter of Fujiwara-no-Fuhito. It was in the first year of Tempei that she became Empress. Not only had she a benevolent and compassionate heart, but she was also devoted to Buddha. It is recorded in history how she vowed to Buddha to cleanse the dirt from 1,000 persons. She did so far as many as 999 persons, and faced the last one to do the same work, but to her surprise, she found him a leper, whose bad odor filled the room. Devoted as she was, she hesitated to cleanse him. But as benevolence was her life-work, she took courage and rubbed the back of the leper, who then said that he had long been suffering from the disease. A certain good doctor had told him that he would soon recover if somebody would suck the pus. Nobody however dared to do it. He then so urgently implored the Empress to do the work herself that she could

Seyaku-in and
Hiden-in by the
Empress Kōmyō.

not refuse, and sucked the pus from head to foot. The Empress Kōmyō ordered the patient not to tell anybody of the fact, when all at once a bright light was shot from the body of the leper who said to her that she had cleansed the Buddha of *Ashiku*, but that she must not disclose the truth to anybody. The surprised Empress gazed at the leper who was full of brilliancy and fragrant odor. He then suddenly disappeared. The Empress was overjoyed and erected a temple on the spot, and named it the Ashiku-temple. This may be only a fiction, but it will show how benevolent and of what a charitable heart the Empress was.

In December of the year of Tempei-Shōhō (750), the Empress collected a number of orphans in the capital, and brought them up, supplying them with food and clothes. When they had

**Protection of orphans
and relief of sufferers
from epidemics.**

grown to manhood and womanhood, the Empress gave them the family name of Katsuragi. In the first year of Tempei-Hōji, an Imperial Rescript was issued. It says: "For the purpose of relieving the sick and the poor, a rice-field of 100 *chō* (243 acres) in the province of Echigo will be donated to the Institution of Medical Attendance in the Sankai-ji temple." Again in May of the 3rd year an order was given to prepare "Jōheisō" (standing granaries). It says, "We hear

that during winter many people are stricken with starvation or diseases. Those who have served in the capital are said to be unable to go home for lack of food and clothes. To relieve these poor people, we order that rice shall be taken out of the provincial treasury in accordance with the size of the province and be stored in "Jōheisō." Previous to this, the court supplied food to the poor people in the 4th year of Yōrō (717-723).

At the time both the government and the people made efforts for relief works, Buddhists especially made

Priest Gyōki and his relief and other public works. it their life-work to relieve the helpless in accordance with the doctrine of Buddha. One of the most distinguished Buddhists of this kind

was Gyōki. He was born in the province of Idzumi. In his 15th year, he entered upon the priestly life, and studied the doctorines of Buddhism under Keiki and Gien, celebrated priests at the time. His filial piety toward his parents was known by all people. His high virtues and moral power attracted thousands of people from far and near, and when it was known that he was coming, crowds of people flocked to worship him. The public works accomplished by him are numerous. He built 49 temples, constructed bridges in many places, improved roads and streets for the facilitating of communication, dug ponds, canals and ditches, constructed ports and harbours and established alms-houses. He had

no other aim in life but the welfare of the public. In the era of the Emperors Kōken and Kōnin (8th century) there lived Wakeno-Kiyomaro, who was known for his purity and righteousness. He brought a rice field of 100 *chō* (243 acres) under cultivation in the province of Bizen to be used for relief works.

In the same era, there was another public spirited person in the province of Echigo. This man, Miyake-Kasaō-maru by name, collected 100,000 *koku* (497, 513 bu.) of rice in his house and distributed it among the needy. He did many other charitable works. The Court appreciated his painstaking efforts, and bestowed on him a rank of no mean order.

In the era of the Heian Court (790-1155) not a few nobles carried out relief works. Ono-Minemori who served the court in the reign of the Emperor Kammu built the Zokumei-in (an asylum for the homeless, consisting of seven buildings) where he received poor travellers who had fallen sick and had no place to shelter themselves. He also purchased a field covering 114 *chō* (278 acres) for poor people. Fujiwara-Fuyutsugu was equally noted for his charity. A charity hospital was founded by him. At first he admitted his own poor

Relief works by Wakeno-Kiyomaro and Miyake-Kasaōmaru.

Ono-Minemori's Zokumei-in, an asylum for travellers who fell ill on the road.

relatives into the hospital, but afterward he presented it to the Court.

Princess Masa-ko, consort to the Emperor Junna was the daughter of the Emperor Saga, and was devoted to Buddha, having a tender and compassionate heart. She did her best for the encouragement of agriculture and farming. In the 2nd year of Teikan (862) she performed a great Buddhist service in the Junna-in temple when the noted priests of the temple preached on the Buddhist scriptures by her request and she listened to the sermons all the day. In the same era there was Jikaku-taishi of the Enryaku-ji temple, who

**Priest Jikaku and
the protection of
foundlings.**

converted the old palace at Saga into a temple in which he placed many foundlings who had been found in the capital. Nurses were employed for the children, and the temple was afterward called Daikaku-ji. At the side of the temple he also built a lodging-house called Saiji-in where he lodged the sick and gave them medical treatment.

During the Heian epoch, the Engi era (901-922) was most celebrated for its ideal administration; the

**The administration in
Engi period and the
relief of the sick.**

court seems to have paid great attention to the relief of sick travellers. The Imperial Rescript issued by the Emperor Daigo in the 8th year of Enchō runs as follows:—"Numbers of

sick people are to be seen lying by the road-side, and nobody affords them shelter. We order that they shall be supplied with shelter and food. For a man or a woman, one *shō* (3 pt.) of rice, one *shaku* ($\frac{1}{4}$ gi.) of table salt, one *gō* ($\frac{3}{10}$ pt.) of soy shall be supplied per diem, and for a boy or a girl, six *gō* (2 pt.) of rice, 5 *shaku* ($\frac{5}{4}$ pt.) of soy, and some amount of salt. Rice shall be supplied from the "Gisō," or charity granaries. Anything concerning relief works shall not be lightly treated."

When the Fujiwara family began to lose their influence in the Court, the administration of the government fell into degeneration. Under the circumstances, relief works were entirely in the hands of Buddhists, the authorities turning deaf ears to the cries of poor people. Thus the beautiful administration which had been carried out in former times by benevolent and sympathetic Emperors vanished like a dream. At this time there lived Shaku-Kōshō, a Buddhist priest, who devoted

Priest Shaku-Kuhya. himself for charitable works. Some said that he was a son of the Emperor Daigo and others said that he was that of Prince Tsuneyasu. At any rate there is no doubt that he was the descendant of an Emperor. Kōshō was devoted to Buddhism, shaved his head, became a priest, and changed his name to Kuhya. He went on a pilgrimage throughout the Empire, and during his trip, mended roads, built

bridges, improved temples, dug wells, buried corpses lying on the path according to Buddhist rites, and did many other charitable acts. In the 1st year of Tenkei (938) he entered the Heian stronghold and preached in the streets. People called him the sage of the city or the sage of Buddhism. In the summer of the 2nd year of Tenryaku, he ascended Mount Tendai and received instruction from the Chief Priest Enshō. He was then promoted to the "Great Priest." In the 5th year, epidemics prevailed in Kyōto and the neighbouring country, and cases of death were ever increasing. Witnessing this appalling scene, the priest Kōshō carved an image of Buddha with eleven faces, the height of which was 10 *shaku* (10 feet). When the image was finished, the epidemics ceased. Having built a temple named Saikō-ji, he placed the carved image in it. In his later years, he went to the north-eastern part of Japan to convert the people there. Afterward he returned to the Saikō-ji, and breathed his last at the age of seventy. There was another priest called Shunchō, who intentionally threw himself into prison to preach the doctrine of Buddha to the inmates.

CHAPTER II.

Middle Period

DURING the time when the Genji and Heike families were in power, battle after battle took place, and there is no mention made of relief works except the charitable works accomplished by Buddhist priests. The incessant civil war no doubt prevented the rulers from paying attention to the matter. Shaku-Jūgen was another priest who made it his sole aim to work for others.

**Priest Shaku-Jūgen and
his relief works.**

He was called also Shunjō. It was he who after a pilgrimage of fifteen years, collecting the needed funds, rebuilt the famous Daibutsu temple at Nara which was destroyed in the 4th year of Jishō (1180) by a civil army. On the 6th of June of the same year, the priest Jūgen breathed his last in the very temple, when he was more than 70 years of age. The people made his statue and set it up in the temple to commemorate his distinguished service. During his pilgrimage the provinces of Suwō and Nagato suffered from famines. He spent all his property to relieve the people of the provinces who were on the brink of starvation. To show their gratitude, the people afterward contributed rice amounting to 1,000 *koku* (497,513 bu.) to the Tōdai-ji temple every year. The priest also built seven monaste-

ries in different places. Although the rebuilding of the Tōdaiji temple accomplished by him is well known, people are not so familiar with his relief works. We can not definitely say that no other remarkable relief works were done at the time. More minute investigation of history might disclose many other charitable works.

The Hōjō family was celebrated for good administration. Although it might have been done for the sake of gaining popularity, yet they did their best for relief works. During the former half of the 13th century various provinces were stricken with famines. Hōjō-Yasutoki, ruler of the time, distributed rice amounting to

Hōjō-Yasutoki's relief 9,000 *koku* (44,776 bu.) among the
in time of famine. paupers to save them from starvation. The government also exempted a wet field of over 1,000 *chō* (2,439 A.) in Mino province from taxation. When famines prevailed in Hōjō in Idzu province, the same ruler lent the same amount of rice to the poor people who made a promise to return the rice next autumn. When unfortunately the people were overtaken by calamity in the fall and could not well fulfil their promises, Yasutoki betook himself to the place, called all the debtors, entertained them with liquor and rice, and cast the file of the old bonds into the fire.

Tokimune, the next ruler, did not fall below his

Hōjō-Tokimune and his charity hospital ; charity works by priest Ninshō. predecessor in point of charity. He built a charity hospital in Kuwatani, contributing his villa in Tosa province towards the necessary expenses.

At the time, there lived in the temple of Gokuraku-ji, in Sagami province, a priest by the name of Ninshō. As he had a very charitable heart, he greatly approved the undertaking of Tokimune, and helped the ruler. After Tokimune died, he himself sustained the temple with his own money, and nursed the patients in the temple. The patients nursed by the priest counted over 57,000 during 20 years. The people therefore called him Iwō-nyorai or the incarnation of medical Buddha. He observed strict economy, never wore silk garments, and all his income was given to prisoners. In severe winter he often deprived himself of his own clothes and gave them to poor people. The blind and the foundlings never escaped his charitable hands. His benevolence and sympathy extended even to sick horses which were cared for in a special stable built by him. The bridges built by him number 189. Bath-houses, hospitals, and houses for beggars were also established at five different places. The priest once visited the Shitennō-ji temple, and being impressed by the famous four institutions for the poor people, that Prince Shōtoku had built, he resolved to follow his example. In the 2nd year of Einin he contributed his

income towards the funds of the Hiden-in and the Keiden-in. The large gate in front of the temple had been destroyed. The priest rebuilt the gate with stone-materials, its height measuring 25 *shaku* (feet). Passers-by viewed its splendors with amazement. By this we can see what efforts Ninshō made in the direction of public works.

During the civil wars of the North and South Courts in the 14th century, Kusunoki-Masashige, the illustrious patriot and loyal warrior of the time, ruled over the province of Kawachi. One time a poor man came to him and begged for food. Masashige asked a retainer whether the beggar was ill or old, or whether he had parents or wife and children. Assured that he was a young man of strong constitution, the warrior was vexed, and said that if he helped such an indolent fellow, he would be chastised by gods, and gave orders to punish the beggar. The fact that Masashige had no compassion on such an indolent fellow shows that he had not lost the true sense of charity. The modern science of the West lays stress on the point that indolent people should be turned into diligent and work-loving men. Masashige well understood this point, and applied it to his administration.

From the time of Kusunoki, when the South and North Courts vied for power until the era of the Ashikaga

**Evils of charitable
administration in the
Ashikaga régime.**

family, battle after battle had been fought except during the reign of Ashikaga-Yoshimitsu when people enjoyed a short peace. Therefore no good civil administration worthy of record was witnessed. The so-called "virtuous administration" of the time came to differ greatly from that of the former Imperial Courts. It came to mean the exemption of people from old standing debts, and the evils resulting from this were beyond expression. Excess of charity will produce lazy people, but excess of magnanimity is worse. It is sure to give rise to riots, because officials utilizing the too generous administration, will act dishonestly, and profit at the expense of the interests of the people, and such acts will stir the people to resort to extraordinary measures. The disturbance continued to the time of Yoshikazu and Yoshinori. At the time of Yoshimasa things became gradually worse. At last at the time of Kyōroku and Temmon in the 16th century, mobs approached the Imperial palace to enforce their petitions. It was after the era of Kōan that farms and fields which were mortgaged were forced by the government to be restored to the original owners.

In the 4th year of Kōan (1281) when a great army of Tartars came to attack Japan, the government ordered a big army to be collected to meet the formidable enemy. To move a large army it was necessary to obtain

History and meaning "of virtuous administration."

a large amount of funds. Even after the Tartar army was annihilated, we had to be prepared for the enemy's second attack by way of revenge. Under the circumstances, a large war tax was collected, which disturbed the financial circles of the time, and panic prevailed throughout all classes. The gulf between the rich and the poor was greatly widened. With the view to saving the situation, the government ordered that all the mortgaged fields should be returned to the original possessors.

Different meanings of "virtuous administration."

being the case, the phrase "Tokusei" (virtuous administration) had gradually lost its original meaning, and in the Hōjō *régime* (13th century) it came to mean something quite different from the true one. The "virtuous administration" practiced in the past were as follows:—the first was exemption from land tax and service, and was executed by the Court; the second was the return of all mortgages to their original possessors and cancellation of the debts. This was done by military rulers or Shoguns. The third was the same as the second, except that the administrators were provincial governors, instead of central military rulers. During the time when Emperors ruled

the country, the first kind alone was practiced. Even when the military rulers possessed power, there was no such queer kind of administration as the second or the third. These were introduced after the war of Kōan era (1281) in the *régime* of Hōjō family. However, after the middle of the Ashikaga, the fourth kind of the so-called "virtuous administration" assumed its form and was enforced by the people themselves. It was 1. non-payment of taxes, 2. restoration of the mortgages to the original possessors, 3. cancelling of old debts, and 4. confiscation of property. Thus the so-called "Tokusei" diffused incurable evils throughout the country. People strove to put the "Tokusei" into force. It will thus be seen that the so-called "virtuous administration" which had been originally devised with a view to relieving the distressed people apparently gave the people the privilege of forcing the government to grant them unreasonable favors. Thus the ultimate result of a charitable institution turned out to be something diametrically opposed to the original principle.

At the end of the Ashikaga *régime* when rioters sprang up one after another, the power and influence of the warriors in the provinces had been really augmented, and people looked upon them as their rulers. These warriors who were spread almost all over the country, strove to invade one another's territory simply to extend their dominions, fighting incessantly. They paid attention to

charitable rule from the necessity of making their posts safe and secure. Uyesugi-Kenshin, the most famous and

**Uyesugi-Kenshin's
administration and
arrangements for
emergencies.**

brave warrior of the time, adopted the principle of colonial militia, but he loved the people under his rule as if they were his own soldiers.

He originated a method of provision against emergencies, but it is now almost forgotten. More than once he opened store-houses and supplied the poor people with rice. In the 2nd year of Eiroku (1559) when he was in Kyōto, the province of Echigo, one of his dominions, was stricken with famines, and people were on the point of starvation. The chief retainers of the warrior was very much concerned about it, and reported the matter to him, when he was staying at Sakamoto in Omi. He instantly ordered his vassals Honjō, Shibata and others to open the store-houses he had previously established to meet emergencies, for the relief of the straitened people. This charitable act on the part of Uyesugi saved the people from starvation. His charity was not confined to this. He exempted the people, who suffered losses by the famine, from taxes according to their condition. In the 4th year of Eiroku there was an inundation in the district of Onuma, when he also relieved the worst sufferers. In the 2nd year of Tenshō he gave rice as a pension to aged people in his dominions. In the 4th year, he opened a store-

house for the relief of miserable widows, widowers, and bereaved families. Kenshin once said to a chief retainer : —“ I can not assure long life for myself, nor can I tell what will become of my family after my son Kagekatsu succeeded me. But at any rate my benevolent administration will certainly produce ample compensation even in the time of my son.” Although he resorted to charity for the profit of his posterity, no doubt he was also influenced by sympathy with the poor people at large.

The times of the warriors Oda and Toyotomi were involved in constant civil wars and the rulers had no time to pay attention to the administration of the people. Toyotomi-Hideyoshi, however, sympathized deeply with the families of the soldiers at the front. From this we can understand that it was no miracle that he obtained such great popularity. The historians of this time attached great importance to his strategy and manner of fighting and rather neglected to record his magnanimous rule.

**Civil administration in
the epoch of Oda-Nobu-
naga and Toyotomi-
Hideyoshi.**

CHAPTER III

Modern Period



INCE the time when the Tokugawa Shōgun subjugated all the country and came into power, peace has prevailed for 300 years. During that long period, there were many charity and relief works accomplished by the Shōgun government. Not only did the government adopt charitable works, but the lord of every province treated the people with maternal love and affection.

Relief works in the
Tokugawa *régime*.

One of the most notable relief works undertaken by the Shogunate was the system of "Tamari." This was an institution where medical treatment was given to criminals who had fallen ill in prison, or to the sick and homeless poor. Insane people who had no place to live and released criminals were also allowed in the institution. In the city of Yedo (now Tōkyō) there was one such institution in Asakusa, and in the suburbs, there was one in Shinagawa. The "Tamari" in Asakusa was started 225 years ago by Hōjō-Awa-no-Kami, magistrate of Yedo. At first he entrusted the *hiningashira* or the chief keeper of beggars called Kuruma-Zenshichi with two criminals. This is the origin of the Asakusa "Tamari." Shinagawa

The system
of "Tamari."

"Tamari" is traced to September, the 4th year of Teikyō (1687), when Ido-Shin'emon, an official under the Shōgun government, entrusted a criminal to Matsuemon of Shinagawa, another chief keeper of beggars. Thus at first criminals were only allowed in these "Tamari," but afterward other kinds of people in straitened conditions were received, so that the institutions assumed the nature of a charity hospital and of an asylum. When it was necessary to repair the buildings, the government allowed subsidies. By "Tamari" was meant "the place where the rubbish of human beings is thrown."

The relief work started by Maeda-Tsunanori, lord of Kaga province, was a remarkable one of the time

**Civil administration
and relief works of
Maeda-Tsunanori.**

both for its management and equipment. The posthumous name of the lord is Shōun-kō. While young he studied classics and history, and, when nineteen years old, travelled to his destination, the Kaga province. On the way from Echigo he entered Etchū. Seeing that the rapid current of the Kurobegawa gave great trouble to travellers, he ordered the officials to build a bridge over the river. His chief retainers and vassals all advised him to give up the plan on the ground that a good strategical position would be destroyed by the bridge, but Tsunanori would not listen to their advice. The bridge was at last completed, and named the "Aimoto-no-Hashi" (people-loving bridge). A few

years later both soldiers and people were very much impoverished and the customs and manners of his province greatly degenerated. The benevolent Lord was very much concerned with this, and resorted to every means to restore the good customs of his people. He lent money to his retainers to adjust their family affairs. He also adopted the methods of employing poor people's children and of protecting bereaved families. The improvement of agriculture, the allowance of land to the poor and the protection of aged people were all undertaken by this sagacious Lord.

Especially, the equipment of lodgings for beggars which was undertaken by Tsunanori was the most remarkable of the relief works of the time. In the sixth year of Kambun (1666), Tsunanori ordered officials of various districts in his

**Census of beggars and
their relief in Kaga
clan.**

province to make a census of beggars and relieve them accordingly. He then consulted with his retainers about the establishment of a great asylum in which to put all paupers. They unanimously replied that although the thing was needed, yet the expense would be so great that it might be impossible to long maintain it. They said that it would be wiser not to set about such a great plan, rather than to give it up after being once begun, and incur the laughter of the people. The lord, however, did not accept the advice. In the 9th year of Kambun,



Lodgings for Beggars



The "Aimoto-no-Hashi"

his province was overtaken by famines and a great number of the people became beggars. The lord built a big asylum and relieved the poor people there. In the next year he built a great number of houses at Kasamai, south of his castle, into which over 2,000 beggars were placed. The buildings were all one-storied. A beam of 12 or 18 feet in length was used for every house, and the total length of the building usually measured over 120 feet. There were forty-five houses, and forty beggars were put into one house. The whole buildings covered over 6,000 *tsubo* (5 A.) of ground. When the buildings were completed, people did not call them "beggars' lodgings," but honoured them as

**Lodgings for beggars
and Beggar Kiyomitsu.**

"O-koya" or "respectable lodgings." In these buildings three *gō* (1 pt.) of rice per day was given to a man, and two *gō* ($\frac{2}{3}$ pt.) to a woman. For children a proper amount of rice was given accordingly to their ages. For people of other provinces, or sick people, five *gō* (1.6 pt.) of rice per day was given to a man. Besides the above, fifteen *gō* (5 pt.) of salt, and 200 *momme* (1.6 oz.) of wood was given. As to clothes, they were supplied twice a year, in summer and winter. A hospital was established specially for the treatment of the sick people in the asylum, and several physicians were employed. There were three methods by which the people were admitted into the lodgings. The first

was upon the recommendation of a city or rural magistrate. The second one was upon the presentation of the people themselves. The third one was of beggars or sick or starved people picked up in the streets in the city of Kanazawa, no matter they belonged to the province of the Lord or not. Of the people admitted into the asylum, those who had special skill or attainments were taught to improve their crafts and were sent to a place where they were in demand. "Beggar Kiyomitsu" who was a celebrated sword-smith was at one time engaged in this occupation in the asylum. For those who had no special occupation, materials were given and they were taught how to make sandals or ropes. These articles were then sold, and the sum they got was deposited in order that they might live independently thereafter. At first, Lord Maeda advanced to the asylum ten *kamme* of money as the capital for the enterprise, but the result was so good that this sum was soon repaid to the Lord and enough funds were accumulated to carry on the work by itself.

The object of the "O-koya" was temporary relief of the poor. Therefore, those who were about to go out of the asylum when provided with means of earning a living, were given clothes, money, and rice. If they had any relatives, they were handed over to them. Some of them were sent to those families who wanted servants or maids. Emigration, or farming was also

Emigration of the inmates of the beggars' lodgings and the establishment of new villages. encouraged. They married among themselves, and thus new towns were built. Tools and funds were lent to them

for colonizing purposes. The people of the time thought that benevolent administration had reached its zenith.

The administration of the Tokugawa government had gradually been re-arranged, and relief works were

Relief works in Yedo. remarkably developed, those in Yedo, especially, being most ideal. Those who suffered from fire or flood were provided

with food and clothes. Even in ordinary times, besides "Tamari" a charity hospital was established for the relief of paupers.

This charity hospital, called the Yōjō-sho, was established in the garden in Koishikawa (now the Botanical Garden) by Shōgun Yoshimune in the 7th year of Kyōhō (1722) according to the advice of one Ogawa Shōsen, a physician in Yedo. Those poor

The Charity Hospital at Yedo.

people in Yedo who could not buy medicine, or those who fell sick and had no one to attend to them, were admitted into the hospital. During their medical treatment, food, clothes, beddings, and all other necessary things were provided. In the 14th year of Kyōhō, the number of the patients was fixed at 150 per day, but in the 18th year the number was decreased to 117, and

the period of stay for each was limited to eight months.

Relief works were not monopolized by the government and the lords of the province. There were many

The Charity Club scholars and charitable persons
founded by Miura-Baien. who devoted themselves to the
 work of saving paupers. During

the Kyōhō era there was a scholar called Miura-Baien in the province of Bungo. He studied Confucian doctrines and astronomy, and was known among the people as an educationalist and author, many people flocking to him from far and near to receive his instruction. His pupils had so much increased that it was impossible to put them in the dormitory, and some were obliged to stay in the neighbouring houses. Baien liked simple living, and had no special care of his own clothes, furniture, or food. Any sum of money except what was necessary to sustain his life was distributed among the poor. Any student in his dormitory who was short of money was provided with necessities. He always had the same meals as his students. As he could not help the paupers in his village with his limited means, he consulted with the chief villagers, and raised relief funds, himself superintending the work. The perusal of the prospectus of the Charity Club which he established in the 6th year of Hōreki (1756) will show how much attention he paid to the relief of paupers. It runs at follows:—“Each villager shall share the other’s joys and sorrows as

brothers and sisters do. The sick shall be helped, the poor shall be attended to. If some of them engage in quarrels, others should soothe them. **The Charity Club and mutual relief of villagers.** If any man does wrong, others shall advise him so as to make him give up the wrong conduct. Thus they can keep close friendship among themselves." The beautiful virtues of mutual assistance and close friendship can be here witnessed. The prospectus continues:—"Even honest people sometimes resort to evil means, if they are not provided with ordinary comforts. 'Stealing out of poverty' is not rare. Diligence, however, will drive off any evil thought and implant charitable spirit." This warns the lazy and encourages the diligent. It also says:—"People who suffer from unexpected calamities in spite of their diligent works and strict economy are to be most pitied; and most miserable among them are those who have no relatives nor children to rely upon, no houses to live in, no food to eat, nor clothes to wear. For such people one bowl of rice will sustain their lives for half a day, and a cup of warm water will give comfort during the forenoon. It is such people to whom we should render assistance." It further says:—"Accumulated dust will form a hill. If each villager will save a little sum of money for relief of the paupers, they can do a great charity." This well explains the spirit of the mutual help association. He made the

villagers promise to observe the following rules:

**The Charity Club and the
agreement of villagers.**

“ 1. Every master of a
house shall instruct his wife and
children on the following points.

2. Wheat in summer, rice in autumn, money in winter, no matter how little in amount, shall be contributed toward relief funds.

3. Funds thus saved shall be lent out through village officials and an exact account thereof shall be made annually.

4. If debtors can offer no mortgages, money shall not be advanced, even if the persons who guarantee the debts are reliable.

5. The fund shall not be appropriated for relief works for five years.

6. Those who can not afford to contribute the money shall not be forced to do so.

7. The funds shall be considered as circulating money of the village, without its owner.

8. Villagers, after consultation with officials, shall aid the paupers, and those in worst condition shall be attended to first.

9. The savings shall not be spent at one person's discretion.

10. Those who are eminent for filial piety or kindness either to husbands or wives, or loyalty to the masters shall be specially treated, as their conduct is

worthy of imitation.

11. On the occasion of consultation, strict fairness shall be observed in the contribution of the funds, and no selfish motive shall be exercised.

12. Those who contribute 10 *monme* (1.4 oz.) of silver, which equals to over 10 *shō* (2 pk.) of rice shall be recorded in the contribution list, so that they may be remembered by posterity. If any of them fall into misfortune, he shall be saved."

The promises were strictly kept until the beginning of the Meiji era. The village however was annexed to

**Preservation of the agree-
ments and common
ownership of property.**

the neighbouring village when
the feudal system was abolished.
When afterward the town and
village system was adopted, this

village was annexed to Nishimusashi-mura, and the villagers at last purchased 2 *tan* (0.5 A.) of wet-field with the relief funds so far accumulated, and it was made the common property of the village Tominaga. While young, Baien was often instructed by his father that men should love one another and observe economy and diligence, that, however hard one might work, one would never become rich unless strict economy is observed, and that the strictest economy would be of no good unless one works hard. When he reached manhood he made it a point to follow this noble instruction.

As has been described above, charity works were

very much developed in the era of Tokugawa Shōgun.

Nakai-Chikuzan's There were also a number of "Gisō"
"Shasō-Shigi." to provide against famines. Nakai-

Chikuzan, a scholar, wrote a book entitled "Shasō-Shigi" (Private Opinion on the Communal Granary) after the law of "Sha-sō" written by Shushi, a celebrated scholar in China. The contents of the work may be summed up somewhat as follows:—
 "The Shokyō" (a Chinese classics) says that the people are the foundation of the country, and the integrity of the country is guaranteed as long as the foundation is solid. The "Rongo" (the Dialogues of Confucious) also says that as the people are assured of their livelihood, there is no reason why the lord should not be satisfied. Although the country is enjoying peace at present, yet we can not assure permanent peace unless the foundation is solid and both the government and the people have abundant means. The farmers' foundation is apt to be weak and frail. This year they can live, but next year when they suffer from famines, they can not pay taxes, and will be hard up. Moreover, in such a year the government's means are also limited so that they will be likely to exact taxes from the distressed farmers, who then offer their fields or houses as mortgages or borrow money at a high rate of interest. Or they will sell their furniture. For a while they can escape difficulty but it is only temporarily. Misfortune

will soon overtake them, and they will be obliged to desert their districts. There have been many examples in which the concerns of but a few people brought troubles to the whole country. There is no better means to prevent these troubles before they assume a serious nature and to solidify the foundation of the country than to resort to the system of "Shasō" (social or communal granaries). In our country there are no "Jōheisō" (standing granaries). Therefore "Shasō" should be started. Of the people residing in the province rich farmers should be made to contribute 2 *koku* (9.9 bu.) of rice per 100 *koku* (498 bu.), and the rice thus contributed should be stored up in the unoccupied granaries. By such measures, 1,000 *koku* (4,975 bu.) of rice will be obtained out of a province producing 50,000 *koku* (248,756 bu.) of rice. Out of the rice offered as taxes the same amount will also be laid aside, thus 2,000 *koku* (9,950 bu.) is obtainable. The amount will then reach 10,000 *koku* (49,751 bu.) in five years. The rice in the form of interest should be left in "Shasō." Even if the original amount of rice is taken away after five years according to the amount, the rice in the form of interest is enough to fill communal granaries. Then the object of relief works will be attained without causing any losses to the government or the people."

Satō-Issai, a famous scholar, also, in one of his works pointed out the necessity of "Gisō" for the time

of famines. He says as follows:—

Satō-Issai's method of relief. “The system of storing rice for relief works is to be executed in 20 years.

Its method is that 50 *koku* (249 bu.) should be laid aside out of every 10,000 *koku* (49,751 bu.) possessed by the feudal lords. This is the foundation of the stored rice. The vassals shall also pay the same rate of rice, and assist the lords. Then 100 *koku* (498 bu.) will be stored out of every 10,000 *koku* (49,751 bu.). This is the amount of stored rice for a year. In five years the amount will be increased to 500 *koku* (2,487 bu.). If the rate of 100,000 *koku* (497,513 bu.) is adopted, the amount of 5,000 *koku* (24,875 bu.) will be stored in the same length of time, and reckoning by 300,000 *koku* (1,492,537 bu.), the stored amount will be 15,000 *koku* (74,627 bu.). This stored rice will be lent out from the first year to any village which wants it. The rice will be lent during summer when food is insufficient, and be taken back in autumn when farmers can reap a harvest. The rate of interest shall be 5 *gō* (1.6 pt.) per *koku* (4.9 bu.). Paddy or wheat will do. If it were the latter, the amount will be doubled. In five years the foundation will be established. After that the preservation against emergencies shall be made. One-third or one-half of the stored rice can be lent but not the whole amount. In famine years, however, exception must be admitted. Interest can not be

levied in great famines, while in the severest famines the rice lent can not be taken back. If the five years pass with no famines, the contribution of vassals shall be exempted in the 6th year. After that the rice stored up in the granaries, and the rice paid by the people as interest are accumulated, though the latter must not be enforced. By these means after 10 years the amount will be greatly increased, and will be able to meet famines of even great dimensions. This is the work for the first period. In ten years more, a great abundance of rice will be accumulated, and in any great famine no people will be starved to death. Thus the work of relief will be brought to consummation in 20 years." Lord Matsudaira-Sadanobu, premier of the time, cordially invited Chikuzan, and consulted with him about the administrative affairs, the government giving him some presents.

Lord Matsudaira-Sadanobu also paid great attention to the rule of people. Therefore his time is specially known as the Wise Administration of Kansei Era.

**Matsudaira-Sadanobu's
relief in time of famine.**

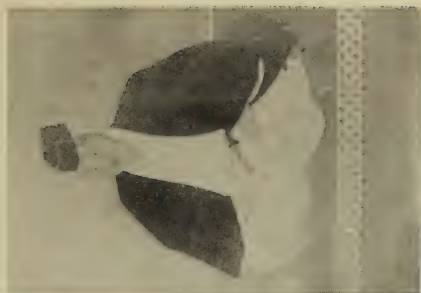
Even now his system of "Gisō" is enjoyed by the citizens of Tōkyō. When he was the master of Shirakawa castle, famines prevailed, but the wise policy by which he saved the people from starvation spread his name widely, and he was given an important office in the Tokugawa government. At the time, prices

of commodities in Yedo were greatly rose owing to the famines, and the burdens of the citizens were quite intolerable. Sadanobu aimed at the abatement of the expenses of the towns by revising town regulations. Of the sum of money which he could save by the curtailment of town expenses, 20% was given to land-lords, and 10% was laid aside as reserve fund. The remaining 70% was saved against emergency or applied to the relief expenses for paupers or orphans.

Establishment of the Town Association.

The location and organization of the Town Association.

For this purpose the Machikai-sho or the Town Association was established in Mukō-Yanagiwara of Yedo. Granaries for rice were established in Fukagawa, Kosuge, Mukō-Yanagiwara, and Sujikai. A number of government officials of various ranks took charge of affairs relating to the association and the granaries, such as the payment of various expenses, allowance of donations to paupers or various accounts. They also took charge of 10,000 *ryō* which was a government subsidy. In the letter given to the members of the town council there was the following passage :—" The saved funds must be kept permanently by towns. The government has donated 10,000 *yen* toward the funds. Granaries will be established in which rice is to be stored up against emergency. As to the accumulated funds they will be lent out or distributed among the poor



Lord Matsudaira



The Tōkyō Municipal Asylum

people when calamities occur. They will also be appropriated for the relief of those old people who have lost wives and children, or those children who have lost their parents."

With such an object, and under such a system, the Town Association was opened in the 4th year of Kansei (1792). The system was enforced until the beginning of Meiji, for about 80 years. The sum saved at the beginning reached 37,000 *ryō* and the seventy per cent. of the sum, i.e., 25,900 *ryō* was yearly deposited. The sum reached 1,070,000 *ryō* when the Tōkyō Municipal Office succeeded to the charge of the sum in the 7th years of Meiji. The construction expenses for the Tōkyō Governor's Office, the Ryōgoku and four other large bridges, the Higher Commercial School, gas lamps, street lamps, and even the expenses for the common cemetery, and the dredging of the outer moats were all defrayed out of the funds. Some of the funds formed a part of the expenses for the organization of the Tōkyō municipal Asylum.

Lord Matsudaira built the Shishinden palace at Kyōto, the Yokuonen garden, and many other buildings and gardens in the construction of which he always displayed his originality. His city administration was quite worthy of imitation, and

**Town Association
and the present
City Asylum.**

**Matsudaira-Sadanobu
and the Coolies'
Homes.**

the Coolies' Home established by him shows that he did not neglect the smallest things. Relief works of the ordinary sort can only serve as temporary remedies. The shortest royal road to convert indolent people into diligent and work-loving ones is to establish the very foundation by which to secure independence. He did not fail to take this road. This system was most appropriate to released criminals, because they will commit crimes again unless they are provided with the means of making an independent living. The Home was established for this very purpose, and admitted released criminals who had committed a light offence, had no relatives to receive them and so were likely to repeat crimes. It was the object of the home to give occupations to these criminals. The homes were established, one in Ishikawa-jima, one in Kamigō-mura in the province of Hitachi. At first it was the intention of the promoters of the home to give any occupation the members liked or with which they were familiar. However as it was impossible to provide all occupations they wanted, the following were selected:—carpentering, cabinet-making, joinering, lacquer-work, rice-pounding, oil-pressing, manufacture of oyster ashes, charcoal-making, straw-works, farming, etc. Some members were sent out of the home to work by the day at various jobs, such as road-making, bridge-building, or other construction works. They generally commenced work at

8 a.m. and closed at 4 p.m., but some worked from early morning till evening. The wages were different according to the nature of the work. Twenty per cent. of the daily wages was given to the labourer for free consumption and ten per cent. was deposited. The deposits were given to him when he was discharged, as funds with which to start a business. Moral philosophers were invited to deliver lectures on the third of every month. In the 5th year of Kansei (1793), 132 persons were daily admitted into the home. In the era of Bunka (1804-1817) and Bunsei (1818-1829) 150 were admitted. But owing to the famine of the 7th year of Tempō (1836), the number was greatly increased, and at the end of December in the 13th year, it rose up to 460. After Midzuno-Tadakuni made great reform in his administration, those who had no lodging or those who had been exiled from Yedo were all put into the home, so that the number was increased to over 600 in the 2nd year of Kōka (1845), the average number of daily admittance being 508. Even at the time when the Tokugawa government collapsed, the number ranged from 400 to 500.

Times of troubles produce great men. The famine of the 3rd year of Temmei (1783) distinguished the name of Matsudaira-Sadanobu, lord of Shirakawa castle. Uesugi-

Measures adopted by Dai-myō against the famine of the Temmei era.

Harunori at Yonezawa administered so well that all the people escaped starvation. Hosokawa-Shigekata at Kumamoto, Kyūshū, also saved the people from their desperate condition. These facts are worthy of record in the history of relief works in Japan.

Uesugi-Harunori, popularly known as Yōzan-kō, is a distinguished personage in our history. His method

Wise administration of relief works at the time of the Temmei famines is worthy of special record.
of Uesugi-Harunori. Every body who learns of his

deeds must be impressed by the fact that he respected the lives of the people as he did his own. In the 3rd year of Temmei, the north-eastern part of Japan suffered from the greatest famine ever known here. In Sendai, Nambu, and other districts, numbers of people starved to death were seen on the roads. Those who had stored gold and silver could not buy rice, and they purchased and ate grasses, straw, pine-barks, etc. A dog was sold at 500 *mon* (25 cents) and a cat at 300 *mon* (15 cents). In some parts of Nambu, dead men's flesh was eaten. During the feudal time, each clan closed its barriers, and prohibited the export of rice at the time of a famine. Under the circumstances, those clans which had no provisions against famines or had been ruled on a mistaken policy fell into this miserable condition. The dominion of Uesugi alone escaped the misery. When the weather continued to be unfavourable to crops the

**Harunori's measure
against famine.**

sagacious Lord took precautions, and ordered the people to eat gruel, and at the same time prohibited the use of rice for liquors or cakes. Therefore when no crop was obtained, the granaries were opened and rice was distributed among paupers. When the treasury was short of money, taxes were imposed on both *samurai* and people, and with the funds, rice was purchased at Sakata and Echigo. Thus the authorities, and wealthy merchants and farmers engaged in relief works with one accord. The sources of wealth at Yonezawa were at this time almost exhausted. In June, the next year, the districts were again visited by bad weather. It was

**Three day's fast
and praying at
the mausoleum.**

feared that the 100,000 persons in the dominion would all die, should famine occur once more. Uesugi-Harunori's anxiety may be better imagined than described. He had no alternative but to implore the gods for protection; he fasted three days and two nights and prayed in the presence of the mausoleum of his ancestors. His wife also confined herself in a room, day and night, and asked for gods' blessing. Her father Shigesada secretly brought food to her at midnight, as he feared that she might impair her health. The noble virtue of Uesugi was spread through the neighbouring countries. Heaven seemed to have been moved with the sincerity of the Lord, and the dreadful weather came to

an end and a clear and beautiful sky was restored. In the autumn good crops were obtained. In July, the benevolent Lord saved the strangers who were seen lying on the streets from want of food. When

**Protection of sick
travellers.**

the weather was improved toward
the end of the month, the lord

revoked the prohibition of the manufacture of *sake*, and ordered the *sake*-manufacturers to brew the liquor with the rice stored in his warehouses. In August he issued an order to make provisions for 24 years, commencing with

**Accumulation of rice
against famine.**

the present year and established
a method of storing 150,000 *hyō*
(straw-bale) of paddy and wheat,

in 20 years, storing 2,500 *hyō* of wheat, and 5,000 *hyō* of paddy every year. Three business offices were established for the management of the warehouses.

Uesugi resorted to every means for the administration of his dominion. When he first succeeded to the

lordship of the feudal clan of Uesugi,
Harunori's oath.

he sent a message to the Kasuga Shrine which was dedicated to his ancestors, and made an oath consisting of five articles. He did the same to Shiroko-Myōjin, a god respected by his family from of old. He then summoned his retainers and many other officials in Yedo, and instructed them to observe strict economy. In October of the 6th year of Meiwa (1769), he entered Yonezawa, riding on horseback in the face

of cold wind and snow. He prohibited gambling as soon as he entered the castle. Yonezawa was a clan entitled to a pension of 300,000 *koku* (1,492,537 bu.) of rice, but

**Financial difficulties of
Yonezawa clan and the
distress of the people.**

in the 4th year of Kanbun (1664), Tsunanori, Harunori's ancestor, inherited half the dominion. His father Yoshihide

acted as regent, as Tsunanori was still under age. The regent's administration, however, was not good. He had been imbued with customs of luxury, year after year. Expenses exceeded those of former days when the dominion had not been decreased by half. The annual revenue and expenditure did not balance. All the wealth saved for many years was exhausted, furniture and precious articles were all mortgaged or sold. Debts were accumulated. Fifteen years afterward, in the era of Hōreki (1750-'63) the dominion was impoverished to extremity, people being dispersed by starvation. Fields were all left barren. As soon as he inherited the dominion, Harunori issued the following orders:—

“ 1. Care shall be taken to preserve cultivated fields, and barren fields shall be newly cultivated.

“ 2. In the cultivation of barren fields, blue hemp, fruits, mulberry plants, paper-mulberry plants, carthamus tinctorius, and cotton plants shall be attended to with great care as they form the chief products of the dominion. If there is any land unemployed it shall be

utilized for the installation of the plants. This is the foundation of the national wealth.

"3. Indolent people shall not be allowed to live in the villages. A census shall be made and if any people are found who are not engaged in farming they shall be advised to work diligently.

"That land is the source of wealth is an underlying principle of the old institution of Japan and China. Look upon taxes imposed on people as those imposed on ourselves, and regard punishment laid on others as that laid on ourselves. These are wise teachings given in the old classics. Farmers shall be treated with generosity. When they neglect farming or decline to pay taxes, officials shall consult the Lord before they take any decided steps. Those who commit light offences shall be pardoned."

As Harunori encouraged production by such means, the finances of Yonezawa clan were improved, and the wealth of the people increased. But the famine of Tempei exhausted all the provisions. Therefore a second plan of storing up rice against emergencies for 20 years to come was established. Fifteen years afterward, when Uesugi-Norisada ruled over the dominion, a great famine took place in the Northeast in the 4th year of Tempō (1833), the granaries were all opened and all the provisions were distributed among the people. Therefore the Yonezawa clan alone escaped the terrible con-



Tsugaru Castle



Lord Uesugi-Yōzan

sequence of the famine. This wise method of relief works was adhered to by the succeeding lords until the 4th year of Meiji (1871) when the feudal system was abolished, and the Uesugi family removed to Tōkyō. On parting with the people of the clan, the family gave them 100,000 *hyō* (one *hyō*=2.1 bu.) of paddy and other provisions. In the 9th year of Meiji when the yarn manufacturing factory at Tateyama, Yonezawa, was inaugurated, Uesugi-Narinori invested 15,000 *yen* by disposing of the same portion of the provisions stored up for many years against famine.

Hosokawa-Shigekata, the lord of Kumamoto, Higo province, was the 2nd son of Nobunori, and was adopted by Munetaka, his elder brother, and inherited the family Honours in the 4th year of Enkyō (1747).

**"A Kirin in Kii and
a phoenix in Higo."**

Thus he was the lord with a fief of 540,000 *koku* (2,685,567 bu.). He ruled the people very wisely, and on that account was called "Gindaikō." His posthumous name is Reikan. At the time there was a wise lord called Tokugawa-Harusada in the province of Kii. The people used to say that these were a Kirin (a fabulous animal honoured very highly) in Kii, and a phoenix in Higo. One day a vassal informed the Lord of this praise. The Lord was not glad to hear the flattery and said that he was far from being worthy of such praise, because every year was marked by bad crops, and even

the pensions of the vassals could not be paid in a satisfactory way. During the reign of Shigekata, people in his dominion twice suffered from calamities. One

**Two great calamities
in the time of
Hosokawa-Shigekata.**

was the flood of the 5th year of Hōreki. The losses were estimated at 230,000 *koku* (1,144,278 bu.). Moreover fields were buried under mud and sand. Over 2,100 houses were washed away, and more than 500 men and women drowned. The other calamity was the famine of Temmei. No part of the country escaped its terrors. Bodies of starved persons were seen lying in the streets.

**Preparations against
emergency and satis-
faction of the people.**

However, the province of Higo was an exception, and no case of starvation occurred, owing to the abundant provisions against emergencies. Shigekata paid great attention to industry and colonization. The green manure which is now largely employed in every district was first encouraged by him.

At the time sericulture was still in its infancy, and many people did not even know how to wind off the yarn. Shigekata established a weaving factory and

**Shigekata's encouragement
of industry and establish-
ment of "Jōheisō" (standing
granaries).**

purchased cocoons at a proper price. He then hired workmen skilful in weaving and spinning from the province of Tōtōmi, to teach

the boys and girls in the dominion the art of weaving. He also encouraged the cultivation of forests and thus established subsidiary work for farmers. He ordered people to pay rice to be stored up against calamities according to the amount of the annual tax, and then established granaries to keep the rice thus collected, to the number of 97; all the people brought their share of rice into the nearest granary. This wise system was efficacious enough to save people in times of bad crops. When the price of rice was exorbitant, the granaries supplied a great abundance of rice, and thus the market

price was lowered. Shigekata
His frugality and sympathy observed economy, and never
with the people. indulged in luxury. From

September of the 5th year of Temmei, he was confined to sick-bed for a number of days. The mats of his room were torn, but he did not have them mended. His servants secretly substituted for the torn mats better ones from another room, but when Shigekata saw the change, he reprimanded them and said, "You may think I am too particular, but I owe the salvation of the people from starvation in the famine to my strict economy." He died at the end of October of the same year.

Tsugaru-Nobuaki of the Tsugaru clan inherited his
Tsugaru-Nobuaki's relief dominion at the time when
in time of famine. Matsudaira-Sadanobu began
to rule his province and both

experienced the severe famine of Temmei. The Tsugaru province, especially, suffered from the calamity. The poverty of the people in the clan reached its zenith. The pains Nobuaki took on the occasion to rescue the perishing paupers may better be imagined than described. Granaries were opened, the treasury was exhausted. Tens of thousands of *koku* of rice were imported from the cities of Yedo, Osaka, Sakata and Akita. Although Nobuaki temporally saved the situation, he feared that the dry and wet fields would be desolated owing to the severity

**Cultivation of desolate
land as a measure
against bad crops.**

of the famine, and ordered his vassals Tsugaru-Taizen, Kitamura-Kemmotsu, Sasa-Tominojō, an accountant master, and a few

other officials to manage the cultivation of the barren fields. He also ordered large farmers to supervise the petty farmers engaged in colonizing work. By way of encouragement he allowed them to wear swords, gave gifts, and endowed upon them many other privileges.

From the beginning of his reign, Nobuaki witnessed the terrible disaster of famine, so that he felt all the more the necessity of making provisions in the time of plenty. He deeply appreciated the significance of the motto found in a certain classic book that a country which has not three year's provisions is not qualified to be independent. For three or four years he could not save any provisions as he had exhausted his means for relief works, but in

the 6th or 7th year of Temmei, the province was blessed with good crops. He did not fail to seize this opportunity to start a scheme of storing up rice, and thus to establish a foundation of provisions against emergencies. He ordered villagers to establish "Gisō," or public granaries, and at the same time made his *samurai* engage in farming in their leisure. A book called Muchōki describes his relief works as follows:—

"The succeeding bad crops disturbed the mind of the Lord, day and night, and he thought of establishing "Gisō" but the circumstances did not allow him to realize the plan. However he could not give it up; he saved any surplus money, and also bought rice at a higher price from poor people. He never spent money for his own luxury, but saved every piece of money he could in order to establish charity granaries. It is a matter to be regretted that he did not live long enough to realize his object." Another book called Rōdan also has the following:—

"The Lord planned to establish granaries to prevent a repetition of the misery experienced in Temmei. But thinking it was too much burden to the people

Establishment of charity granaries and *Samurai*'s farming.

Saving of surplus money as the funds for "Gisō."

Nobuaki's command regarding provision against famine, and his gifts.

to increase the taxes after the source of wealth had been exhausted, the Lord decided to carry out the plan after a few years, when good crops had been obtained. It was ordered that from the autumn of the 2nd year of Kansei 30 *shō* (1.5 bu.) out of 1,000 *shō* (49.6 bu.) should be saved. Although he died the next year, the plan of "Gisō" was carried out on his will. 3,700 *ryō* was given for the purchase of rice, and many granaries were established in which a large amount of paddy was stored up. This benevolent administration on the part of the Lord will be long remembered by posterity." By these we can see what thought Nobuaki gave to the relief of the people.

The Storehouse in Iyo-gōri, Ehime prefecture, was also a kind of "Gisō." It may be traced to the era of Kansei (1792-1800). At that time the farmers of eight villages stored up each one *shō* (3.3 pt.) out of 100 *shō* (3.9 bu.) against famines. This system of saving rice was continued up to Meiji, and rice amounting to 20,000 *yen* in value was exchanged for cash. Now with the development of the country, the method of its utilization must be changed. The sum was lent to each village-guild at the rate of 7 % interest. Some portion of the sum was also contributed toward educational funds. The method of lending out the funds for study to students was settled. There are not a few village-guilds which appropriated the

funds for the establishment of primary schools, or for manufacturing expenses.

“Gisō” at Fukuyama was established in the era of Kansei. At first its object was to relieve farmers at the time of famine. But at present the sphere of the work has been extended. It has begun to encourage

The charity granary at Fukuyama.

education and industry, rendering assistance to the association for agricultural products, the school for straw-braids, and other educational and industrial institutions. To those students who could not afford to pay their expenses the necessary amount was lent. In this connection, there is a beautiful story. One time the Fukuyama clan borrowed 300 *kamme* of silver from a silver mine in Iwami province on account of the straitened condition of its finances. The interest for the loan was 45 *kamme* per annum, but the redemption of the loan was thought impossible for a good number of years. There was a person called Ishii-Buemon in the clan, who had been lying in sick-bed.

The history of the granary.

Knowing that his case was hopeless, he summoned his son-in-law, Kawai-Shūbei by name, and told him that he had been respected by the people of the towns, but he regretted that he had not accomplished any work for the towns. He then asked Shūbei to expend his property for the towns, the clan, and for general public works. Shūbei deciding to observe Ishii's will, consulted the

families of Ishii and Kawai and collected some amount of money. Shūbei gave deep thought to the proper utilization of the funds, and at last decided to apply the funds to the redemption of the debts of the clan. Consulting with Shichikenya in Osaka, he borrowed an amount which added to the funds above mentioned was enough to pay back the debts to the silver mine. The authorities of the clan gave Shūbei 45 *kwanme* every year for 15 years by way of rewards for his efforts. Shūbei did not fail to utilize the rewards for useful purposes, because he established the "Gisō" with the funds, after he had obtained the permission of Abe-Seisei, the new lord of the clan. The name "Gisō" or charity granary was given by Kan-Sazan, a noted rural poet. The Lord appreciated Shūbei's merits and wanted to grant him the rank of *samurai*, but Shūbei respectfully declined the offer, and asked the Lord to give him instead of it some Korean ginseng received by the Shōgun annually, which he intended to plant in the garden of medicinal herbs, and to distribute to the people. It is said that he realized his wish with brilliant success. Over 100 years have now elapsed since that time, and the foundation of the work has been firmly laid. It is estimated that the property is worth 160,000 *yen*.

The Kan-nonkō society in Akita was inaugurated 85 years ago. It has also a brilliant history. Nawa-Saburoemon started the society. He once said that nothing



The Akita Kannonkō

**The Kannonkō society
in Akita.**

could be more disastrous than poverty, and devised various plans for relief works. Just at the time Satake-Yoshihiro, lord of the clan, established a method of saving poor children. Saburoemon was very much moved by this method and contributed a large amount of money towards the fund. Moreover he persuaded many people and succeeded in collecting over 1,000 *ryō*. He contributed this sum of money to the lord of the fief and asked him to appropriate it for relief works. This is the origin of the Society, which was kept up by the family of Nawa until the time of the grandson who bore his grandfather's name Saburoemon. The Restoration of Meiji necessitated the surrender of the fief. Saburoemon, however, succeeded in obtaining 54,700 *yen* from the new government, and thanks to this sum, the foundation of the Society has been established. At present the capital of the Society amounts to 200,000 *yen*, and it has become one of the greatest charity corporations devoted to the bringing up of poor children, and the relief of paupers.

**Priest Gessen's con-
tribution towards
relief funds.**

There are not a few examples of individual efforts for relief works. The case of priest Gessen may be counted as one. He was a priest and artist, a member of the Jōdō sect. His art was widely known and many people came to him for

his brush. In his later life he became very rich, and spent his money rather luxuriously and was censured by the public. We can not, however, overlook his merits in building and repairing Buddhist temples, and in saving poor people. On his death-bed, he ordered the family to contribute all his wealth to the relief funds. He died on the 12th of January in the 6th year of Bunka (1809) at the age of eighty-nine. Thus we see that the authorities of the Shōgun government, lords of various clans as well as individuals equally paid attention to relief works.

In the terrible famines of Temmei and Tempō, the districts in Kantō and the Northeast suffered the heaviest losses. A great number of starved people were lying in the roads. But the people in Sakura-machi in Shimotsuke province escaped the horrible hand of death, because they

**Ninomiya-Sontoku
and the famine of
Tempō era.**

in accordance with the teaching of Ninomiya-Sontoku had taken painful efforts in productive work for fifteen years, commencing with the 6th year

of Bunsei (1823). The fief of Uzu to which Sakura-machi belonged, was a branch of the fief of Okubo-Tadazane, lord of Odawara. At the time Tadazane was Rōjū or councillor to the Shōgun. Knowing that Ninomiya-Sontoku was familiar with the means of improving the sources of the national wealth, the Lord decided to employ him. But fearing that he would be exposed to public criticism,

he first ordered him to relieve Sakura-machi. Ninomiya-Sontoku was a man living in Kayama village in Sagami, dominion of Lord Okubo. Previous to this, the chief retainers of the Shōgun had often tried to revive Sakura-machi but in vain. Sontoku was ordered to take this difficult task in hand in the 35th year of his life, or in the 4th year of Bunsei. The next year he disposed of all his fields, and added the sum to the fund for the revival of the town. In June of the 6th year, he sold all his property and furniture, and then with his family removed to the Sakura-machi Office. He received no subsidies from the Lord. Three villages Higashi-mura, Yokota, and Monoi in Haga-gōri, Shimotsuke province, had land amounting to 501 *chō*, 6 *se* and 20 *bu* (1222.1 acres). Formerly the land yielded 3,117 *hyō* (one *hyō*=2.1 bu.) of rice, the number of families living there being 433. The villages were under the jurisdiction of Sakura-machi Office. When Sontoku first came to the place, he found that the villages had reaped only 1,005 *ryō* or 125 *ryō* in value. The number of families was only 180. The poverty of the villages had reached its climax. Since Sontoku had been sent to the place he did his best for the revival of the villages for seven years. Land was cultivated day after day, and the population gradually increased. The people, however, did not respect Sontoku, and dishonest officials tried every means to interrupt his works. In the 12th year of Bunsei, he went to Narita in Shimōsa province,

and prayed to the god Fudō fasting all the time that he might succeed in attaining his object.

Restoration of He continued this application for three
Sakura-machi. weeks. His prayer was at last apparently accepted by the merciful god, and the villagers, repenting of their past conduct toward him, hastened to the public-spirited man and took him back to the foot of Mount Tsukuba in Hitachi. After this, nobody interrupted his work, and he attained his object sooner than he expected. This is what is called in history "the Revival of Sakura-machi." In the 2nd year of Tempō, Sontoku contributed 426 *hyō* of rice to the lord of Odawara. The Lord very much appreciated his public spirit and laid aside the rice against emergencies. In the next year Sontoku ordered the villages in Sakura-machi to sow seeds in two *se* (8 sq. rd.) of field per *tan* (40 sq. rd.) against famines. When next year there was a famine, the precaution Sontoku had taken proved very efficacious, and people admired his acumen. By his order the villages repeated the sowing of seeds for the succeeding three years, and he also exempted the field from taxation during the years of sowing. When the provisions against emergencies had thus been perfected, there took place a great famine in the 7th year of Tempō, but the people of Sakura-machi escaped its cruel clutches. At that time the dominion at Karasuyama also suffered from famine. By the request of the lord of the fief, Sontoku exported

**Relief of sufferers
from famine in
Karasuyama and
Odawara clans.**

rice of several thousand *yen* in value to the spot and set to the immediate rescue. From December till May of the next year, he built a number of cottages for rescue, and saved thousands of people from starvation. Hearing that the dominion of Odawara was full of distressed people on account of the famine, Sontoku relieved more than 40,300 souls from March till May of the 8th year. He lent out rice of approximately 4,868 *ryō* in value, repayment in five years' installments, and no interest. The rice stored up in Odawara amounting to 1,769 *hyō* served the purpose.

The teaching of Sontoku was the enhancement of the resources of the land and the preservation of peace among the people. Sincerity, diligence, frugality, and modesty were the four important points urged by him. He

**Four principles of the
teaching of Sontoku.**

colonized barren land, revived deserted villages, turned poverty into wealth, converted the indolent into the diligent. He always checked evils in advance because his acumen revealed him these evils before they took concrete forms. This act of Sontoku resembles very much that of Uesugi-Harunori who gave work to his *samurai* against extraordinary events. This precaution on the part of rulers against emergencies is considered to be the ideal relief work by both Western

and Eastern nations. Especially the revival of desolated villages is most ideal and worthy of imitation in all the relief works. The fact that Sontoku first paid attention to the conversion of indolent people into work-lovers and then encouraged industry is worthy of admiration and may be said to be the best method of relief works. Many associations, called Hōtoku-sha (Bliss Repaying Associations) have since been organized in accordance with the principles of Sontoku. These associations well display the spirit of union and mutual relief. Not only do they attend to the relief of individuals, but render worthy assistance to the relief of villages and towns.

The famine of Tempō was universal throughout the country, and produced a very miserable state. Even

**Relief in time of
famine by N. Ku-
magae, a merchant
in Kyōto.**

Kyōto did not escape from the consequence. Many people were starved. At the time there was a man in Kyōto who was called Kumagae-Nao-yasu. Witnessing the disaster, he was moved by feelings of compassion, and built a cottage in the south of the Sanjō bridge at his own expense. There he collected many paupers and gave them clothes and gruel. To sick people he called doctors. From January of the 8th year of Tempō till March of the next year, he saved 1,500 people. This relief work quite exhausted his money, and many relatives advised him to give up the work, but he would not listen. He disposed of his

own land and buildings for funds, and in the 4th year of Tempō printed pamphlets entitled "Precautions Against Famine" and distributed them far and wide. In the 13th year, he published another work, and distributed its copies. The following is an extract from the former work:—"If the sons and clerks of a merchant desire to get a high position in society, it is necessary that they should exercise their virtue in secrecy. They should work diligently and pleasantly, but never indulge in luxury. There are, however, those who take too much care of their neighbours, or take pains for the society of their friends, or are too ceremonious to maids and servants, and thus they waste their precious time, never getting to eminence and power. At present the price of rice is much appreciated. Every family should curtail its expenses, observing the strictest economy. This is the best opportunity to exercise our patience and perseverance. We should pass through such an ordeal. If we work hard, coarse food will taste well. Even after you have a family, stick to this teaching, and you are sure to get wealth as much as you please. Just bear privations for a little while, and prepare for ever-lasting wealth and prosperity. This year is visited by a great famine, but we should thank the gods for the fact by thinking that this is the forerunner of the future prosperity. There are those who have a bad temper and

**Extract from the
"Precautions
Against Famine."**

get angry at the unfairness of gods and masters. Do not follow their example. It is hoped that you may sow seed at this time so that you may reap fruits in future. For this purpose, save some amount of rice every day. The method shall be as follows:—

**Method of
saving rice.**

“ 1. If families in Kyōto save 3 *gō* (1. pt.) of rice every day, the amount saved will reach 450 *koku* (2,238 bu.) per diem, to which ground wheat shall be added at the rate of 10%. Then the amount will reach 15,000 *koku* (74,626 bu.) in a month, and 180,000 *koku* (895,522 bu.) in a year. When this amount of rice is put in straw bales containing 50 *shō* (10 pt.), 360,000 *hyō* are obtained. Suppose eight *hyō* are laid on an ox-cart, the number of oxen will be 45,000, and if two *hyō* are put on the back of one horse, 180,000 horses must be employed.

“ 2. The amount of rice consumed in Kyōto every year is over 700,000, *koku* (3,482,587 bu.). If the method in question is observed for four years, a year's rice will be produced. Those who have ambition in society should economize expenses for clothes and precious articles. Even dust becomes a hill when accumulated. You should bear this truth in mind and make it a point to give comforts and ease to your parents.”

The Burial Society in Takanabe clan was a mutual relief society organized by some clansmen in the fief for those who could not perform the burial ceremony and

**Burial Society in
Takanabe clan.**

other various services to their ancestors. Although it was called a burial society it was in fact a sort of the friendly society.

Saida-Makinojō, a retainer of Akizuki, the lord of Takanabe, devised this system in the 6th year of Tempō. Its object is given as follows:—"Long peace has corrupted customs and manners and produced the evil habit of luxury. Expenditure is yearly increasing. Even nobles and peers are suffering from poverty. Still worse is the condition of the common people. Parents have no means with which to give good medicines to children about to die. Dutiful children are woefully looking at their dying fathers or mothers with no medicines to offer them. And when they die, children lack means to bury them nor can they perform religious services to their departed parents or ancestors. Considering this fact the Burial Society is organized. Members of the society shall annually contribute 40 *shō* of rice for three years. When calamities occur, the society shall render assistance to the poor people without relying on the lord. If the amount of rice stored is insufficient, it will not serve the purpose. If it is over-accumulated, there is a fear of its growing rotten. Therefore, rice shall be lent out to members if needed, and be returned with interest in autumn. The interest shall be accumulated every year against extraordinary events. There are some who are wronged by wealthy farmers and are forced to bankruptcy. If it is proved

that they would pay back the debts without fail, rice shall be lent to them at half the rate of interest."

The 6th year of Tempō was the time when the Tokugawa government began to decline, and the general condition of the people had a downward tendency, poverty prevailing throughout all classes. Saida felt the necessity of encouraging thrift and the love of labour. This necessity drove him to start the Burial Society. At this time, the lord of the fief Takanabe was Akitsuki-

**Meirindō school in
Takanabe clan.**

Tanetō. His grandfather Taneshige was the elder brother of the famous Harunori who revived the family of

Uesugi. Taneshige established a school called Meirindō, and endeavoured to educate his clansmen. He also established "Gisō" in the villages of the fief, and stored up lumber and other useful materials in order to meet with any unexpected demand of the people in the clan. Harunori once said of him:—"Taneshige is my elder brother, but is not well known only as his clan is small. If he took my place, my clan Yonezawa would be better governed by him." As he was such a virtuous and wise man, he might well be worthy of his fame as an enlightened ruler. His deeds may be admired from the fact that Saida, the organizer of the Burial Society, studied, while young, in his school Meirindō.

Satō-Shin'yen was a great scholar, and wrote many valuable works on agriculture and relief works. He

published his plans on the charity works such as Ryōbyō-in, Jiiku-kan, Yūji-sho, and Sato-Shin'yen's plan of a charity hospital. Kyōiku-jo, etc. The Ryōbyō-in is

a kind of hospital in which doctors and nurses were to attend on poor people. Most of the poor people can not engage in their occupation when they lie on sick bed. The sick people were therefore to be taken into the hospital, and at the same time, work should be given to the healthy people. Strangers who had fallen ill should also be invited to this hospital. As to the Jiiku-kan, i.e., children's home, there should be three of them in a dominion of 10,000 *koku*. It consisted of several buildings, in each of which 7 or 10 babies were to be placed. To babies milk and powdered arrow-root and wheat-gluten would be given. His plan of children's home and Yūji-Sho (a sort of kindergarten). They would be nursed from 18 months till 25 months. The age

of any baby allowed into the hospital must be confined to 4 or 5 years. When they become older than 4 or 5 years, they were to be sent to Yūji-sho which is a sort of kindergarten. There should be 20 Yūji-sho in a fief of 10,000 *koku*. Of the Kyōiku-jo, i.e. school, there should be one in a fief of 1,000 *koku*. When any villagers could not bring up their children they could send them to the Jiiku-kan, and the sick-children could be sent to the Ryōbyō-kan. Old men, crippled persons,

His plan of a charity school. widows and widowers or those who had suffered from calamities would be given money, rice and necessary articles. Besides these, the Kyōiku-jo could take up the task of educating children. Any bright boy or girl would be sent to a primary school. Other children would be sent to various trades chosen by themselves when they grew up. People, young and old, can sometimes be gathered in a room and taught moral doctrines.

His plan of Kōsai-kan or institution for relief and other public works. A fief of over 10,000 *koku* should have one Kōsai-kan, an institution for relief works. This should deal with, besides relief works, the repairs of roads, bridges, banks, and it also can take up the task of colonization and fishery, etc., which might be turned to the permanent profit of the country. Although unfortunately Shin'yen's opinions were not translated into facts we cannot but recognize his administrative talents and acumen.

Hamaguchi-Gihei was a patriot who at the end of the Tokugawa government advocated the opening of the country to foreign trade, and crossed over to America at the age of 70. He was born at Hiro-mura, Arita-gōri in Kii province in the 3rd year of Bunsei (1820). He was also called Goryō. His family had been engaged in the

brewing of soy for many generations and was renowned for the virtues of charity. Gihei devoted himself to the education of children, and also did his best for his village. As the village was close to the sea, it often suffered from tidal waves, and many poor people lost houses and occupation. He could not refrain from pitying their miserable condition, and rebuilt their houses with his own money, and also supplied them materials for their work. When the bridge over the Hirokawa was washed away by the waves, he reconstructed it with his own money, knowing that the villagers whose means had been exhausted after the calamity could not afford to do so. Hearing of Gihei's efforts for the public good, the lord of the fief honoured him with a special decoration. The villagers equally appreciated his public works, and tried to erect a monument in his honour in order that the posterity might remember him. Gihei, however, did not accept it. He also established a school called the Taikyū Gakusha ("Durable" School) for the education of young men of the village. When he was a councillor of the Civil Administration Bureau at Matsuzaka, he very much regretted that the people of the town was inclined to perform various ceremonies such as marriage, burial, etc. in a luxurious and pompous manner. He ordered them to economize the expenses, and with the sum thus accumulated to help paupers. When he was a councillor to the Arita Civil Administra-

tion Bureau, he revised a method of sustaining those who had twins or over seven children. He published an order concerning the relief of both aged persons and young children. In his regulations for the relief of the

**Gihei's order concerning
the relief of aged people
and children.**

paupers in Matsuzaka, the following passage is found:—
“ If man has no sense of charity,
he is no more than a beast.

If he has the sense of charity, and yet has no method for executing that charity, he has in the real sense, no charity. Not only must the ruler have charity towards his people, but men must also have charity towards one another. It is the law of Providence that children should love their parents, and younger brothers should obey their elders, and that people should work hard, and get blessings which they share with the distressed. Therefore you should bear this truth in mind, and fulfil your duty as men. It may be a very difficult task to share your profits with others, but thrift may enable you to bless others without any loss to yourselves. By thrift is meant the doing away with superfluous expenses, not stinginess. It is a matter to be truly regretted that you should forget that the burial service or the marriage ceremony is the foundation of etiquette, and should run into luxury and pompousness in the performance of these important services. Hereafter you shall conduct them with economy and thrift. Some rules for the

ceremonies shall be established according to the classes of people. The sum thus curtailed shall be applied to the relief of the poor who are on the verge of starvation. Such kind of people shall be allowed to enter an asylum, where they are to be taught manual works, and enabled to gain an independent livelihood after they go out of the asylum. By such means two birds can be killed with one stone. Utmost efforts should be made to exterminate the root of poverty by encouraging people to work hard and to cultivate their knowledge and morality. By adopting such a measure we can see how man is above the beasts. It is by kindness and diligence that this object is attained." In Gihei's regulations for the sustenance and the bringing up of twins published in Arita-gōri, Wakayama, the following passage is found :—

"It is the law of humanity that parents both high and low love their children. When the moral standard of

**His regulations for
sustaining and
bringing up twins.**

society gets low, the good habit of parent's loving their children, and children's obeying to their parents will be lost. Nothing can be more deplorable. Recently there has arisen a bad custom: those who give birth to twins are ashamed of it, and keep it secret. They are ignorant how noble and precious men are. They seek after gain at the expense of love between parents and children. Now hereafter any body who gives birth to twins shall inform the

nearest office of it, and parents shall be rewarded with presents according to the intensity of their needs. Any body who has over seven children shall also notify the matter to the office."

Shimatsu-Seihin, lord of the Satsuma clan was distinguished for his administrative talents. There are not a few deeds concerning political matters which were accomplished by him and have been long remembered by posterity. It was his ideal of administration that there should be no people in his dominion who could not make a living. It was just like the ideal of Maeda-Tsunanori in Kaga province who made it his principle never to have a single beggar in his dominion. He always inspected villages on horse-back and encouraged industry. Seeing the necessity of making provision against the occurrence of any unexpected calamity, he decided to apply to his dominions the method called "Jōhei-sō" (a system for provision against emergencies) started by Keijusho of China. In the 5th year of Kaei he gave an order to his vassals, in which the following passage is found:—"You shall carry on the purchase of rice by making it evident that this "Jōhei" system is for the relief of the distressed people, not for the collection of taxes. If the officials misunderstanding the real meaning of the system and dare to force farmers to forward rice, it will give no small pains to the latter.

Shimatsu-Seihin's

"Jōhei-sō" system.

The same is the case with those in the castle. If officials neglect to control the rice market, wealthy people will buy up rice in various quarters and disturb the market. Then the bad custom of attaching too much importance on one's own profit at the expense of others' interest will prevail. Under the circumstances although the system of "Jōhei" may be adopted, it will be possible that for several years the fluctuations of the market price of rice cannot be regulated as one pleases. A small famine may enhance the price of rice. In that case, even the good system will not be to the people's advantage. Therefore when the system is established, officials shall observe strict fairness, and protect the good people from falling into the trap of cunning traders." It also says, "Recently prices of commodities have risen to the no small inconvenience of people in town and country. Unless therefore a proper system is established, popular troubles will never cease. If an unexpected calamity occur at such a time, nobody can tell what difficulty our country may be involved in. Then both education and military training will be neglected, and the good customs will degenerate. Now we will establish the system of "Jōhei" to save people placed in bad circumstances. It is a familiar saying that it is easy to create laws, but very difficult to get men who will properly execute them. Therefore great care shall be taken in the selection of good officials." Moved by

Seihin's instructions his retainers and people in general closely observed the spirit of the system. In a few years, rice to the amount of tens of thousands of *koku* was accumulated.

Now-a-days, means of communication are very much developed, and the supply of commodities is not difficult, so that even in the time of a famine it is not a hard task to import provisions from other countries, but still it is necessary to store provisions against emergencies, in order that we may keep an independent position without relying on others. It was much more necessary to store up food in the old days when there were no facilities of communication, especially in an island. The communal granary in Okinoerabu island in Kagoshima

**Saigō-Takamori and the
"Shasō" in Okinoerabu
island.**

prefecture was established with this idea. During his exile in this island, Saigō-Takamori one day told Tsuchimochi-Masaaki, an official in the place, of the necessity of storing provisions against a famine, as the island stands over 300 miles off the main land, and there was no big vessel which could sail on rough seas. He thus advised the latter to carry out a plan in accordance with the system of "Shasō" framed by Shushi, a noted scholar in China. Masaaki admired Saigō's wise policy, and ordered the people in the island to contribute rice to the amount of 100 *koku* to form the fund necessary to

execute the system. At the time the people had to forward to the clan government sugar amounting to over 200,000 *kin* (260,000 lb.) for the price of daily commodities which had been disposed of to the people by the latter. Thanks to the efforts of Saigō-Takamori, the sugar was given to the people, and half the amount of the sugar which was over 20,000 *yen* in value was made the fund for the "Shasō." This is the origin of the Okinoerabu Communal Granary. In ordinary times the paddy in the granary was lent out to the people in the island, but in the time of emergency it was distributed among the distressed people. In the 28th year of Meiji, the greater part of the paddy had been distributed among the people in accordance with public opinion, but there still remained 210 *koku* (1,044 bu.) or over 5,000 *yen* in value, which is even now being used for relief works in accordance with the spirit of the system. Exile as he was, Takamori never forgot to relieve poor people. His sagacity and charitable spirit are worthy of admiration.

There was a great number of examples of relief works in the local districts when the Shogunate was in power. The Mujō-kō society at Kita-yamato-mura, Yamato province and the Kaya-kō society at Sana-kōchi, Awa province, may be counted among them, both being kinds of mutual help societies. Kita-Yamato-

Mujō-kō society at
Kita-yamato-mura.

mura is a small village situated in the northern corner of Yamato province. From of old the place has been noted for the good habit of union among the villagers. Fifteen or thirteen families formed one guild which was called "Kakiuchi" or "within the fence." A "kakiuchi" had one head who managed various affairs relating to the guild. In the village there was a burial society called Mujōkō, which was started in the middle of the Tokugawa *régime*. The society had all necessary articles for burial services. When a member of the society died, the other members took up the task of the service. Especially for one who was poor, every family of "Kakiuchi" contributed 2 or 3 *shō* of rice for the fund of the service. This good custom of mutual assistance was not confined to burial services. Any poverty-stricken person in the village was helped by the society, and the children of the poor were supplied with funds for study.

Sanakōchi-mura is a village in the mountains, three miles distant from Tokushima city, and there people observed simplicity, and respected labour. In Sagana, one of the groups of this village, there had been the Kaya-kō or the Rush Society since the middle of the Tokugawa *régime*. This village had only 200 families, and the roofs of all the houses were thatched with rush. The village was divided into five sections, which annual-

**Kaya-kō society at
Sanakōchi-mura.**

ly took up the task of rethatching the roofs by turn. As to the time for thatching, the season when the farmers were not busy was chosen. On the day of thatching, all the families of the section, rich and poor, brought two loads of rush called *kaya* (from which the name Kaya-kō society was derived) and also one *shō* of rice. It was usual to complete the work in a day by the efforts of 40 or 50 people. The rushes to be brought by every family were mowed from the common forests. The work undertaken by the society was not confined to this thatching; for, if a member of the society suffered from a fire, the other members would bring materials for building a new house and also furnish labour, and if a member fell sick, the society would assist in his farm work. This beautiful custom of mutual relief is still observed.

We have reason to believe that the relief works above enumerated form only a small part of the charitable works undertaken by our countrymen from ancient times. The only point to which we wish to call the attention of the public is the fact that the Japanese have, since ages ago, endeavoured to protect the people before any calamity had taken place, and in this respect our countrymen accomplished what the modern Western nations hold to be the ideal method, i.e.,

Conclusion. the relief of the people before any calamity takes place, as well as after. In older times our relief

works were quite negative and the people were prompted to charity from religious motives, but in modern times religion was not the only stimulus which has induced our people to perform acts of charity. They have come to undertake relief works of a positive nature from the standpoint of civil administration and true humanity, and have succeeded in them. The O-koya, of Maeda, lord of Kaga, and the orchards of Satō-Shin'yen are the best examples of the relief of people by means of giving them occupations. The revival of a family, a village or a town as a whole, such as was undertaken by Ninomiya-Sontoku, and the mutual relief system such as the Charity Club, founded by Miura-Baien are the most remarkable examples of the relief corporations. A perusal of the foregoing pages will convince the reader that relief works in Japan are of a peculiar nature, the principle ever maintained by benevolent personages having happily agreed with what is in the West regarded as the ideal modern method; and also that they have a long history of a unique nature, as may be seen in the benevolent administration of many feudal lords as well as in the reigns of our gracious Imperial ancestors. The essence of our relief works is always to be sought in the national solidarity founded on the family system,—a system which is said to be one of the most remarkable things that characterize our nation.

Part II

The Present State of Relief Works

CHAPTER I

General Remarks

THE one great object of relief works is to improve the condition of the poor. Experience tells us that to squander alms on poverty-stricken people is not the way to attain this end ; an effective measure for its realization being, rather, to stimulate the poor to further efforts for their own improvement,—a fundamental principle acted on by modern philanthropic workers. In other words, to help people in such a manner as to keep them from becoming utterly and helplessly destitute, is by far the safest and decidedly the best thing we can do for the public. It is most essential, therefore, to inspire the poor with the spirit of self-reliance, diligence and forethought.

Benevolent relief works in our country have a very long history. In the Reformation of the Taika Era (645-55), a system called the “Handen,” (the system of

**Benevolent administration
of our Emperors.**

distributing state land among the people for cultivation) was already started; while in the reign of the Emperor Mombu, about twelve hundred years ago, there were set up in various provinces charity granaries wherein rice and cereals were stored against famine.

In the reign of Suiko there were founded dispensaries and the "Hiden-in" (a kind of almshouse) and in that of Shōmu further improvements were made upon them. Later, under the administration of the Tokugawa Shōgunate there was established the "Gonin-gumi" system (a set of five families coming to one another's help and relief in time of need.)

Thus since the middle ages, relief for the toiling masses has been continuously carried on in this country, the principle ever maintained by those engaged in the work being that neighbourhood support must precede that of the clan or of the state; that is to say, those who live in the same locality must relieve one another before they look to the clan or to the state for help, which is to be resorted to only in case of extraordinary natural calamities, when the assistance rendered by the neighbours proves insufficient. This method was very efficacious as a preventive of indiscriminate giving.

In consequence of the political change following the Restoration of 1868, a great many people suddenly lost the means of support and accordingly regulations relating

to their relief were enacted. This was the first act of relief work in the new era. Then followed, in their order, the regulations dealing with sick travellers, those for providing rice for foundlings, and others for relieving widows, forlorn people and disabled persons. There were also regulations, which were at first called "Bikō Chochiku Hō" for storing a sufficient amount of grain against famine and other calamities, after the fashion of the old system of "Gisō" (charity granary); but they were changed into the present Law of Calamity and Sucour Funds. During the last twenty years numerous regulations have been gradually completed and among the newly enacted laws are those for the Treatment of Sick and Dead travellers, the Reformatory Act, the Laws concerning the Guardianship of Children at the Asylums, the Regulations in regard to the Treatment of Mentally Deranged People, the Prevention of Leprosy Act, and the Laws regulating the Sanatoriums for Tuberculous Diseases.

The various kinds of relief works have been steadily increasing every year throughout the land, until now there are more than 500 establishments in all; but in regard to their equipment and management, there are always some things to be studied and improved. So the government started a lecture

**The present system
of relief work.**

**Reformatory works,
relief enterprises and
lecture meetings.**

class, in the 41st year of Meiji, for the purpose of studying the relief and the reformatory works, and has kept it up every year.

Those who received instruction at the lecture class number about one thousand. Moreover these lectures being published and distributed among interested persons, the real significance of the relief works has been more and more realized by the public.

While, on one hand, the government has held the lecture class every year, on the other hand, it has been,

Subsidies. since the 41st year of Meiji, assisting those

institutions of charity which have seemed promising or have proved to be successful, by granting them subsidies, thinking it would encourage them to greater efforts. The amount of the subsidy is fixed by the Diet, and the sum total of the subsidies up to the 2nd year of Taishō is *yen* 260,000.

Not only the government thus encouraged the relief works, but both officials and private persons inter-

Establishment of the Charity ested in the work organized,
Organization Society. in the 41st year of Meiji, the

Charity Organization Society under the presidency of Baron Shibusawa, with the object of bringing separate institutions under one control in order to make their work more efficient by co-operation and effective supervision. To carry out this object, a magazine entitled "Charity" is published in which reports based

on special investigations are made from time to time, meetings of the persons concerned in the work are frequently held, lectures giving opinions and informations on the subject of relief work are given, inspectors are sent out to see how the work is carried on.

During the Russo-Japanese war (1904-5) an ordinance relating to the relief of military men's families was

**Relief of needy families
of soldiers at the front.**

issued, in accordance with which the state furnished such of the families of soldiers at the front

as were in needy circumstances with the means for livelihood or with food and clothing, as the case might be.

In carrying out relief, however, much care was taken by the Government that state support should not precede neighbourly help. Indeed both the authorities and the people did their utmost to supply needy families with the means of gaining an independent livelihood through

**Work-supply during the
war and its effect.**

their own labours, since alms given to those who are not utterly destitute would only pauperize the

recipients. This measure proved really efficient, for not only was the object of relief accomplished through it, but also habits of industry and diligence were thereby cultivated among the poor, and various industrial enterprises have consequently sprung up in provincial towns and villages.

At that time the people also organized the soldiers

aid associations throughout the country for the purpose of relieving the soldiers at the front from the necessity of worrying about their houses. Marquis Inoue and Marquis Matsukata in particular raised subscriptions very extensively and incorporated the Imperial Soldiers Aid Association, and entrusted the Government with the care of the disabled soldiers and the needy families of the soldiers at the front, and at the conclusion of the war, they dissolved the association and distributed the money left, amounting to 1,280,000 *yen*, among all the prefectures that the relief work might be continued in the respective places.

Of the many associations that sprang up during the war for the benefit of the soldiers, two still remain active.

The Patriotic Ladies Association and Teikoku Gunjin Kōen-kai (the Imperial Soldiers Support Association). They are the Patriotic Ladies' Association and the Teikoku Gunjin Kōen-kai. The former was started by the late Mrs. Io Okumura of Karatsu, Saga prefecture, and is managed exclusively by

ladies. How great the compassion she felt for the victims of the war can be seen from the fact that when she was urging the necessity of establishing the Patriotic Ladies' Association to aid the soldiers at the front, tears often would stream down her cheeks as if mere words were not enough to give expression to her feeling. She

even went to the battle-fields to see the conditions there, and returning home carried on the campaign of charity with surprising energy from one end of the country to the other. The association has its main office in Tōkyō and branch offices in many provinces.

The Teikoku Gunjin Kōen-kai was formerly called the Gunjin Izoku Kyūgō-kai (the Society for the Relief of the Surviving families of the soldiers); but it was changed into the present name in the 39th year of Meiji, and like the Patriotic Ladies' Association, the institution is still actively carrying on the same line of work.

When we think of the proverbial benevolence of the Imperial Family we find it to be the fountain of all modern charitable enterprises in our country, for not only has the

**Benevolence of the
Imperial House and
Charity and Relief Funds.**

Imperial House granted money from time to time to both the public and private enterprises of charity, but at the demise of Empress Dowager Eishō, the late Emperor Meiji bestowed upon the nation 400,000 *yen* from the Privy Purse which was distributed among the provinces to be made charity funds.

In many cases the funds were increased by subscriptions or appropriations from the local taxes. Now this was the origin of the local charity funds for which the people feel so grateful. And at the demise of the late Emperor Meiji, the present Emperor was pleased to grant 1,000,000 *yen* with the gracious decree that it should be

devoted to relief works and charitable enterprises in the provinces. Accordingly it was distributed among all the provinces, including Saghalien Island, Eormosa, and Korea, where the allotted sum was either added to the former fund, or was set apart as the Taishō Imperial Donation. In every case the money was formed into a permanent fund, only the interests accruing from it being spent to assist both public and charitable enterprises — thus to perpetuate the gracious act of the Emperor. And recently at the demise of Empress Dowager Shōken, the Emperor made another grant of 600,000 *yen* for the same purpose, and now the total relief funds exceed 4,000,000 *yen*.

The benevolence of the Imperial House is not limited to the cases above mentioned, but whenever there is any serious disaster from natural causes, the Imperial House invariably makes a grant of money to alleviate the suffering. On February 11, of the 44th year of Meiji, the anniversary of the accession of the first Emperor Jimmu, the late Emperor Meiji granted 1, 500,000 *yen*, commanding the Prime Minister of that time to use it for the establishment of free dispensaries, saying "We are greatly aggrieved to learn that there are many poor people who from the want of medical treatment fail to complete their natural life." Deeply moved by this benevolent act of the late Emperor, many

**The Imperial Relief
Association for the
Sick and Poor.**

people proposed to make donations towards the relief fund, and the free dispensaries that had been already established doubled their efforts, and not a few physicians and druggists pledged themselves to do all in their power in the way of facilitating this particular work of charity.

The late Prince Katsura to whom this Imperial trust had been given organized with this gift a foundational juridical person, naming it "Onshi-zaidan Saisei-kai" (The Imperial Relief Association for the Sick and Poor), and by his suggestion it was decided to raise money by subscriptions. The Saisei-kai has its head quarters in Tōkyō and many branch establishments in the provinces. The total amount of the free dispensary fund, taking in all the applications for contributions, has reached the enormous sum of 20,000,000 *yen*, making the institution the most richly endowed of the kind in our country.

CHAPTER II

The General Relief Work

BESIDES the special institutions of charity such as the medical relief associations, homes for the aged persons, orphanages, free employment offices and lodging houses that are run more or less independently, there are two general institutions where all those special charitable works are carried on under one management. They are the Tōkyō-shi Yōikuin (the Tōkyō Municipal Asylum) and the Osaka Kōsai-kai (the Osaka General Relief Association). These two are the largest of all the relief institutions in the cities, and the former particularly is conducted on a larger scale than any of the public institutions of the same description.

The foundation of the asylum dates from the Kansei era (1789-1800). Matsudaira-Sadanobu, the premier of the

**The origin of the Tōkyō
Municipal Asylum and
its present condition.**

Tokugawa government at that time succeeded, as the result of retrenching the expenditure required for the administration of the city of

Yedo (the Present Tōkyō) by carrying out improvements on its streets, in saving 40,000 *ryō*. He divided the amount into ten equal portions, of which one was appropriated for the extraordinary expenditure of the city

and two were given back to the land owners, while the remaining seven were set apart as a relief fund against famine and came to be known by the name of "Shichibu-kin" ("seven-tenths" fund). The fund, placed in the hands of the municipal authorities, has greatly multiplied since then, and amounted to several millions of *ryō* at the time of the Restoration, when a portion of it was expended in the establishment of two asylums for itinerant beggars in the city. After undergoing many changes, the asylums have been expanded into the present Tōkyō Municipal Asylum.

The institution takes in poor people, depraved children, neglected children, orphans, sick travellers, cripples, invalids and aged people. They are separately housed according to classes. The poor people, the cripples and the invalids are quartered in the compound of the main institution which is in the city of Tōkyō, the total number of the inmates being about 860. The neglected children and the orphans, numbering about 600, are educated in the school specially built for them at a suburb of Tōkyō. About 130 depraved children are taken care of in Inokashira Reform School in a village several miles from the city, where they are instructed in some practical lines of business. Of the neglected children and the foundlings, the very young ones are put in the care of neighbouring farmers who are paid for the charge. There are about 400 of these children. When they

complete the grammar school course, or when they are thoroughly reformed they are entrusted to the care of ordinary families to learn some thing to support themselves. Not a few of these younger children are adopted in the families.

Soon after the asylum began to take in children, a considerable number of them died of tuberculosis, so that to combat this disease a
The Awa Sanatorium. convalescent hospital was opened in August of the 33rd year of Meiji on the sea shore of Katsuyama, Chiba prefecture, where tuberculous children and those on the verge of being attacked by this disease were treated, the maximum number admitted at a time being fifty. Thus all the sick children, taking their turns, were given treatment by change of air. The result was so satisfactory that a new hillside lot was bought at Funakata-machi, in the same prefecture, into which, the Katsuyama hospital being found too small for the purpose, moved in the 42nd year of Meiji. This new hospital can accommodate 100 patients. The children taken in are divided into the following four classes :— (1) the weak, (2) the convalescent, (3) those suspected of having tuberculosis, (4) those suffering from glandular diseases. Besides these the Asylum has its employment offices and lodging houses in three different places in Tōkyō, of which more will be said later on.

Next to the Tōkyō Municipal Asylum in the scale of the



The Awa Sanatorium



Children going to the Open-air School

work done, is the Osaka Kōsai-kai, a foundational juridical person. It was established with a fund of 360,000 *yen*, the sum being the remainder of the contributions made at the time of the great fire at Osaka in the 43rd year of Meiji. The expenses incurred in the work are met chiefly with the interest from the fund, a subsidy from the city of Osaka and the interest from other charity funds. Among the directors of the institute are the Mayor and the Governor. The work of the institution is very extensive, and comprises the children's department, old age department, medical relief department, convalescent hospital department, employment department and nursery department. The children's department takes in the foundlings, poor children and orphans. The infants are sent out to families to be nursed. The day nursery takes in the children of the poor during the daytime to enable the parents to work without looking after their children. There are five of those nurseries belonging to the institution. The number of inmates of all these departments was about 700 in March of the third year of Taishō. The institution is now contemplating further extension of the work.

CHAPTER III

The Nurture of Poor Children and Orphans

AMONG various kinds of relief works, the protection and instruction of the poor youth of the community is the one that should first solicit our attention; for children are destined to form the nation of to-morrow. The proper bringing up of poor children must be, therefore, one of the most important objects to be attained by relief institutions and at all costs.

In our Empire, there are at present many associations, both public and private, organized for the promotion of the work in question; among others the Okayama Orphanage, the Hakuai-sha (the philanthropic association), the Aichi Orphanage and the Sendai Christian Orphanage are worthy of special study.

The Okayama Orphanage was founded by Juji Ishii, the late director of the asylum, twenty-seven years ago.

The Okayama Orphanage and the farming operation at its branch Orphanage of Chausubara.

In his younger days, when a student of medicine, Ishii had occasion to hear George Müller, the English philanthropist, and was strongly

impressed by his discourse on the care of orphans. While in a village in Waki district, Okayama prefecture,

one day he happened to see three miserable looking beggar boys by the wayside and was deeply moved with pity at the sight. He gave up his idea of becoming a physician, throwing into the fire all the medicinal books he had, and formed the noble resolution to devote his whole life to the nurture of orphans. This was the inception of the Okayama Orphanage. For twenty-seven years since then he has spared no pains in advancing its interests, surmounting all obstacles and has succeeded in bringing it to its present prosperity.

Now the Orphanage has moved all the children to the Chausubara Children's Farm in Kyūshū, except about 100 little ones who are entrusted to private families for nurture. At present there are not less than one hundred and seventy boys and girls in Chausubara, and two hundred are working as apprentices on private farms. Besides twenty of the adults who grew up in the institution now keep their own houses on the Chausubara farm ground. The land owned by the farm, including the field and forest land, is more than 600 acres. This is the only orphanage in Japan at present where all the inmates are employed in farming. Since its first establishment at Okayama nearly 3,000 orphans have been taken care of and there are so many as 400 who are earning their own livelihood. One thing very sad to mention in connection with this institution is the fact that Juji Ishii, the founder and director of this famous

orphanage, who devoted his all to the care and education of the poor orphans for more than twenty years under trying circumstances, died after a lingering illness on January 30th of the third year of Taishō (1914).

When the news of the hopelessness of Director Ishii's recovery reached the Imperial ear, His Majesty was pleased to confer a rank on him in recognition of his good work. Director Ishii is the first man who had the honour and distinction of receiving a rank among the workers in the cause of charity. The successor of Director Ishii has already been chosen and the future of the institution is very promising.

The Aichi Orphanage was established in the 19th year of Meiji. It has its office in Nagoya, but the nursery itself is in a suburb. The founder of the institution, Araya-Seiken is a Buddhist.

Though there are not a few nurseries set up by Buddhists, this one in Aichi is by far the largest of them. The present inmates number over one hundred and ten, and the total number of the children taken in since its establishment is 300. The special feature of this asylum is that it has lately adopted the family system. It is located in a quiet and beautiful place in a suburb of Nagoya, having sixteen dwelling houses with a gymnasium, sick room, bath-house, etc. Each of these



The Chausubara Farm of the Okayama Orphanage



The Aichi Orphanage

houses has, as a rule, ten to twelve children attended by a nurse and her assistant who sleep and eat in the same room with them. Great pains are taken in instructing the children in table etiquette, how to dress themselves and in general hygiene, and every thing is conducted so nicely as if these sixteen houses were so many families.

Children under school age are brought up under the kindergarten system and those of school age are

Care taken in regard sent to public grammar schools.
to unweaned children. As to the unweaned children, they

are sent out to families, great care being taken in the selection of the wet-nurses. After sending them out, visits are made from time to time to see that the children are properly taken care of. To inculcate the spirit of self-direction and self-reliance, and to teach the sacredness of labour, they make the children assist in cooking and house cleaning. Moreover the boys are given training in practical business as apprentices, and the girls are instructed in sewing and etiquette.

Hanabatake is a slum with 1,500 inhabitants, situated in the eastern suburb of the city of Okayama; the

The work of an uncleanliness and the irregularity of
American lady at the habits of the people were formerly beyond description, not to
Okayama. speak of the criminal deeds committed there from time to time. It is no easy task to ameliorate the lives of such people, who are callous to

warning and seem almost incapable of repentance and reform. About twenty years ago, an American lady named Adams came to our country with the object of propagating Christianity and fixed upon this city for her first residence. Passing through Hanabatake one day the lady happened to notice a crowd of miserable children surrounding her—their limbs smeared with dirt and their bodies barely concealed under rags. The sight appealed to her compassion with special force, which was the more intensified, as she grew better acquainted with the wretched urchins and came to know more fully the internal condition of the community. Instead of turning her back upon the squalor she willingly mingled with the children, talking and playing with them most freely and cheerfully.

The more she learned of their mode of living, the more compassionate did she become, until after inquiring into the causes of their pauperism, she came to the conclusion that what they stood in need of was not so much means of livelihood as good education. Thereupon she established a Sunday school and gave them lessons specially adapted to their condition, which was, however, of little avail, for the good influence the children received on Sunday was more than counteracted by the evil influences on week-days. This failure suggested to her another measure, which proved more effective: she set up a school-house, where she daily gave the children

primary education. Later, in the 38th year of Meiji (1905), when a new school building was constructed, a spacious room was prepared for the instruction of adults; besides, girls were taught sewing and trained in hand-work with a view to enabling them to earn an independent livelihood. Nor is this all. Thinking it important to improve their hygienic condition, she opened a medical dispensary, with the assistance of the director of the prefectural hospital; the number of patients treated since its opening being not less than a thousand. Moreover, she formed a children's club and a children's library for the instruction of boys and girls of the district, and lately established a day nursery where scores of children are taken care of while a lecture hall has been established for the use of the toiling masses with the object of bringing sweetness and light into their otherwise gloomy, monotonous lives; so that the little boys and girls as well as their parents who enjoy all the benefits are naturally attached to the benevolent lady as deeply as if she were their own mother.

CHAPTER IV

Nurseries for Infants

 S has already been described, the most effective method in the relief of paupers is to supply them with employment, so that they may earn their own livelihood. But employment alone would be of little practical value unless some additional provisions be made.

**Nurture of children
during the War.**

to enable working people to follow their respective callings, unencumbered by their children. In European

countries the supplying of work goes side by side with the establishment of nurseries for the children of labourers. In our country, too, the necessity of such provisions had long been felt, but not until after the Russo-Japanese War was the plan put into practice. Of the institutions which have come into existence since then we shall describe only a few that are worthy of special study.

The Kōbe Ladies' Public Service Association was organized by some public-spirited ladies of the city.

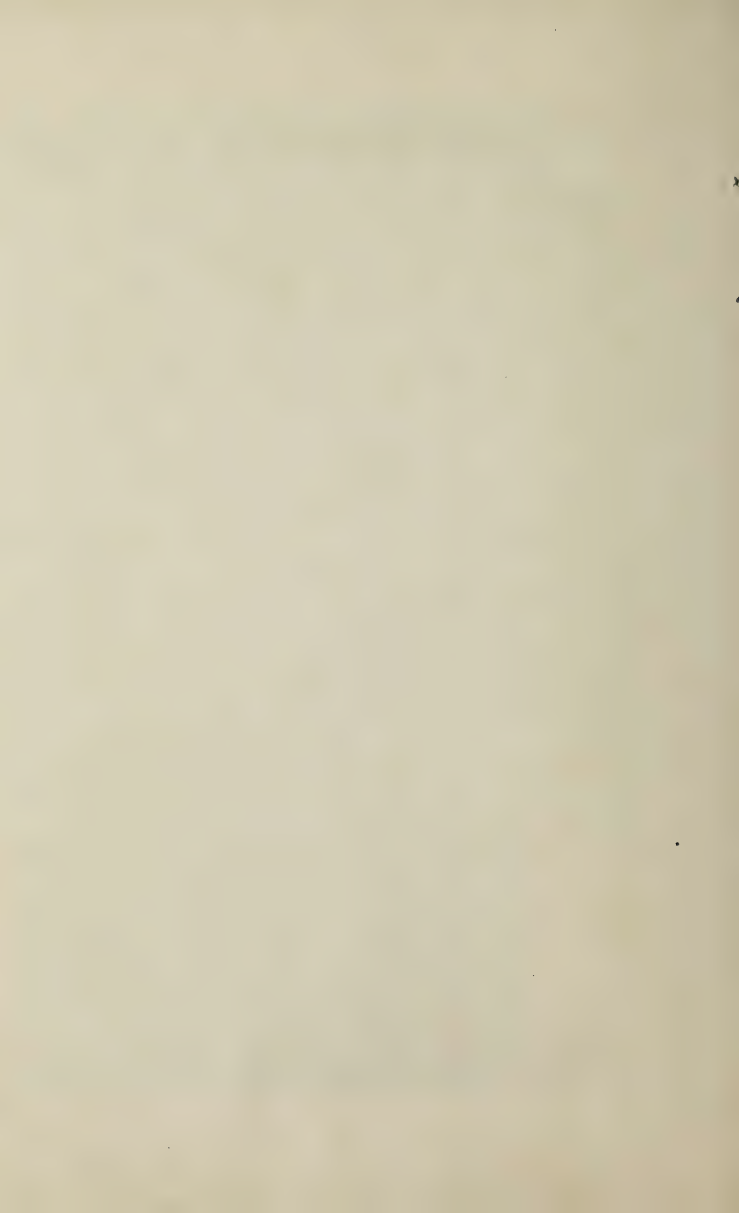
**The Ladies' Public-
Service Association
at Kōbe.**

association established a few day-nurseries in various parts of the city and nursed hundreds of the babies of working mothers during

the day-time. Besides it furnished employment for the



The Kôbe Day-Nursery



poor families of soldiers at the front, so that they might support themselves, but made it a rule never to supply food or clothing except for those too weak to work. It despatched mid-wives, free of charge, to working women in childbed. All this went a long way toward the maintenance of the independent life of the poor families of soldiers and toward the reduction of relief expenses to a minimum. For this reason the association has come to be justly called the best of its kind. Such an organization is no less needed in times of peace.

Certain persons in the city have recently organized the War Commemoration Crèche Association, their idea being to make these institutions permanent, instead of temporary. This association has four nurseries which care for about two hundred children and is making a marked improvement.

A few years before the foundation of the War Commemoration Crèche association there was in existence

**The Futaba Kindergarten
and its influence on
mothers.**

in Tōkyō a kind of nursery called the "Futaba Kindergarten." While serving as teacher in the kindergarten attached to the Peeresses' School, Miss Yuka Noguchi often noticed, on her way to school, poor children indulging in all sorts of mischievous tricks, and realized the pressing necessity of affording them proper instruction so as to correct their evil habits and manners.

After a long and careful investigation and with the valuable assistance of Mrs. Mine Saitō who, after making a special study of the subject, had just returned from America, Miss Noguchi opened a kindergarten at Shimo-Nibanchō, Kōjimachi-ku, in the 32nd year of Meiji (1899). Later they removed the school to Sam-banchō, but finding the place unsuited to the purpose owing to the scarcity of paupers in the neighbourhood, they chose for the site Samegahashi, one of the most densely populated slums of the city, where they built a large school-house some four years ago. The good work taken up by Miss Noguchi is already reaping its reward: more than two hundred children are being taught there at present, the number of applicants daily increasing. School begins at nine in the morning and closes at five in the afternoon; in some special cases, however, children are received as early as seven o'clock a.m., so that their parents may enjoy all possible facilities for working. When at home, the children are in the habit of spending from one to three or four *sen* a day on sweetmeats, while at school they are not allowed to spend more than one *sen* a day; in fact, they are told to bring one *sen* daily to the school and to save one half of the sum, being permitted, if they wish, to devote the other half to eatables indulged in between meals. For the purpose of reforming the disgusting uncleanness, to which poor people are, as a rule, insensible, the pupils are given a

bath every Saturday in the bath-room specially prepared by the school. A mothers' meeting is held on the evening of the 15th of every month under the presidency of the principals; valuable lessons in domestic affairs are given to the mothers and sisters assembled there; besides, they are entertained with songs, dialogues and sports by the children, or some times with magic lantern shows and music. Those present at each meeting number over a hundred, and they are said to return home well imbued with the spirit of thrift and diligence as well as much amused with the entertainments, so that the school is doing an immense amount of good not only to the children, but also to the adults.

Lately Tōkyō and Osaka have built six day nurseries each, and Yokohama, Shizuoka and Okayama have established one each. The general trend of circumstances being such as to call for more institutions of this characters, it is not doubted that many more will be built in the near future and the scope of this enterprise will be greatly widened.

CHAPTER V

Homes for the Aged People

 HE old people who have no means of supporting themselves and nobody to take care of them are certainly to be most pitied. Not only does humanity demand that such helpless persons should be properly taken care of, but provisions for their welfare would improve the moral atmosphere of the community which takes charge of them. Respect for old age is one of the fundamental principles in the family system, and it is a fine custom peculiar to our country, or at least more prominent in our country than elsewhere. The spirit of mutual help among the relatives and friends and communities in general was so strong and universal alike in the cities and villages, and the state assistance was so unfailing that there was no need of having special organs for the relief of the aged. But owing to the radical change in economic conditions, the necessity is beginning to be felt, and as yet it is only in large cities that there are any institutions of the kind. Only a few of them will be mentioned here. The largest are the Tōkyō Municipal Asylum and the Osaka Kōsai-kai which will be passed over here since they have been mentioned before.

The beautiful custom of respecting the aged.

The Tōkyō Old People's Home was founded in the 36th year of Meiji. It admits persons over 60 years of age who have no one to depend on, or who having some relatives are not so situated as to receive readily any help from them. The institution asks sympathizers to send waste papers, old rags and other useless articles and by converting them into salable articles, and selling the product, they manage to defray the expenses with the proceeds. Last year they built a new house in Takinokawa, a suburb of Tōkyō and have fifty inmates. Buddhism is their religion.

The Ono Charitable Institution was originally founded by the late Tasaburō Ono, a citizen of Kanazawa, who for more than forty years laboured for the relief of the poor, and the sick people, until he exhausted all his property and became as poor as those whom he meant to rescue. Still he would not give up the struggle. At last several people in Kanazawa aroused and began to take a great interest in his work. When, during the Russo-Japanese war, news of victories came in thick and fast, they collected subscriptions to commemorate the victories, and with that money, reorganized the institution, rebuilding the house and conducting it on a larger scale, and named it the Ono Charitable Institution in memory of the original founder. The Total

inmates at present number about a hundred and ten of whom nearly fifty are aged persons.

Though there are some other provisions made for the relief of the aged in Osaka, Nagoya, Kōbe and other cities, the family system in our country is so strict, the spirit of mutual help so strong and the gap between the rich and the poor so small as yet that the need of relieving the aged is not so great as in other countries.

CHAPTER VI

Work supply and Employment Offices

HE object of promoting the general welfare of the poor, and of turning them into efficient and self-supporting members of the community can best be accomplished by supplying them with proper occupations as well as by inculcating habits of thrift and diligence.

During the famine in the North (1905) the authorities concerned endeavoured to furnish work to the sufferers, with the result that tens of thousands of them were relieved.

Relief in time of famine.

Among the measures resorted to by the provincial communities for the purpose of providing able-bodied paupers with work may be mentioned the reclamation of waste land, the afforestation of moor and hill, and the adjustment of cultivated fields. Training in sericulture by giving them silkworm-egg cards and young shoots of mulberry trees, or in the breeding of barnyard fowls and pigs by distributing chickens and porklings among them, as well as in the encouragement of straw-work and of the production of charcoal, proved the most interesting and effective methods.

During the Russo-Japanese war, too, the Government authorities, in carrying out relief, aimed at supplying employment to the poor, avoiding almsgiving as much as

**Work-supply during
the war.**

possible. The match and envelope manufacturing industries which sprang up at Sendai at the time were of great use not only during the war, by furnishing work for not a few of the needy families of soldiers at the front, but are still continuing to be very useful to the poor. At first, however, those who entered the factories were so few that they were in danger of being abandoned, but thanks to the strenuous efforts of the mayor of the city who exhausted every means in his power going so far as to introduce them into the curriculum of the primary schools, the industries began to thrive, and have attained so prosperous a condition that at present 8,000 people per month are engaged in the manufacture of matches and 7,000 in that of envelopes, the articles produced in a month numbering 100,000

**The work supply
in Sendai.**

dozens in the former and 3,000,000 in the latter case. The market for them is not confined to the city of Sendai, but is said to include all the Northern provinces, and even Tōkyō. It is due in no small measure to this industrial enterprise that the poor people in this locality were enabled to tide over the hard times, getting scot-free out of the great disastrous famine which visited them as the immediate sequel of a devastating war.

Of the private enterprises designed for the same purpose, the Kondō Industrial Home in the city of

**Characteristics of
the Kondō Indus-
trial Home.**

Yonezawa is one worth mentioning for its special features. Under the management of Tomiju Kondō the home is exactly like a large family, all the inmates, irrespective of their ages, looking upon the master and mistress with the same affection and respect as if they were their own parents. The relation between them is the most harmonious imaginable. In the feudal days, the famous Lord Uesugi-Yōzan (a *Daimyō*), who governed the city, had encouraged industries, especially sericulture and the textile industry. This worthy example Kondō has decided to follow and as a result of his own experience has set his hand to silk-plaiting, his intention

**Immortal merits of
Uesugi-Harunori.**

being to provide able-bodied workmen with food and shelter in return for their labour and service. With the extension of the factory the number of operatives has speedily increased, there being at present more than 300. Kondō and his wife never call those who serve in the home employees, but members, lest the inmates should lose their sense of independence and self-reliance, because of the help rendered to them out of kindness pure and simple.

Between the supplying of work and the cultivation of waste land there exists a very close connection, and in our country there are many instances illustrating this connection of which a few cases may be mentioned here.

The joint community of Hachimori and Iwadata in Yamato district, Akita prefecture, consists of two fishing villages facing on the Japan Sea. Owing to poor catches, the inhabitants had long been threatened with starvation. In 1905, for the purpose of bettering their condition the prefectural office

Relief of fishers in allotted an area of over one hundred
time of poor catches. *chōbū* (250 acres) of public waste

fields near the village to one thousand of the poorest fishers for cultivation, on the condition that the land thus broken up be leased to the tillers for the following twenty years. Besides, out of the contributions made by sympathizers in other prefectures in connection with the famine, 2,000 *yen* was set apart as a cultivation encouragement fund, lest those who turned farmers should abandon the spade for the net again when there were good takes of fish. The cultivators were made to store away a portion of the yield in a common granary every year, the proceeds of which was restored to the former owners after the elapse of ten years, so that they might acquire a habit of thrift and provision. This method has served the double end of relieving poverty on one hand, and on the other of increasing wealth among the distressed.

About half a century ago, the village of Shigei, situated northwest of Inno-shima, Mitsuki district, Hiroshima prefecture, undertook the reclamation of the forest

land owned by the village, employing some of the poorer inhabitants. All the reclaimed land was left in the

**The cultivation of
land in the village
of Shigei.**

hands of the labourers for cultivation for a period of four or five years, or at the longest, of seven or eight years, in the course of which they earned a little competence enough to support themselves and their families; when the still poorer villagers took their place and cultivated the land to their own profit, and so on. In this way all the poorer members of community have, in their turn, enjoyed the benefit derivable from the tillage of the common land, and enriched themselves to such an extent, that at present only a few stand in need of any external help and relief. That this system has greatly promoted the spirit of self-support and independence among the villagers can be best seen from the fact that not one of them fails to pay taxes. The number of those who have been engaged in the said reclamation of late is said to be several hundred.

Of quite a different nature from those above mentioned is the forest-plantation carried on in the village

**Middle and lower
class people's affor-
estation partnerships.**

of Tokura near the city of Tōkyō. 370 acres of the village forest land is divided into three grand lots, called A, B, C, respectively, of which A and C are cultivated jointly by the villagers, the former being intended for the production of timber, the

latter for that of fuel. The B lot is divided into many smaller portions, each of which is farmed out by a party consisting of more than three families below the middle class in the community. The parties must bear all the expenditure involved in the planting of trees in the leased parts as well as in their cultivation and are entitled to a share of the proceeds accruing from the sale of timber and wood, in case the work proves successful and brings in some profit. The village authorities call this a kind of labour union,—a name which it fully deserves. Not only does this system promote the spirit of self-dependence among the inhabitants but it is instrumental in the maintenance of a young men's night school by way of remuneration for the service of the members of the Young Men's Association in whose hands is left the management of the A lot. In the administration of its affairs the village in question is well known for its ingenious schemes and arrangements. The Charity Association is one of the institutions characteristic of this community: its object is, instead of giving alms to beggars, as was hitherto the case, to save the money and establish a general dispensary with it. The village of Tokura is, for these reasons, justly regarded as one of the good villages in our country.

A few years ago there was no employment offices or lodging houses that was not a money making enterprise, and the evils attending the business were not few.

**Employment offices and
lodging houses.**

Moreover the ever-increasing complexity of society makes it inadvisable to leave the matter of distribution of work and the question of the unemployed in the hands of unscrupulous money makers. It was for these reasons that several charitable employment offices and lodging houses were recently established.

The municipality of Tōkyō opened three free employment offices during the 44th and 45th year of Meiji. In the 2nd year of Taishō the applicants were over 6,000 and those who secured work over 2,600, the large majority of them being employed as ordinary labourers or factory hands.

The Osaka Employment Office was established in the 45th year of Meiji. The applicants in the first year numbered 14,627, of whom 7,518 obtained work. This employment office was incorporated with contributions from several prominent men. Besides these two, there are the Jōdō Labour Relief Association, the Japanese Salvation Army Labourers' Lodging House, the Free Lodging House under the management of the Otani Sect of Honganji in Tōkyō, the Jikyō-kan, and the Women's home in Osaka. All these, except the two first mentioned employment offices in Tōkyō and Osaka, are conducting both employment offices and lodging houses.

The lodging houses are of two kinds,—one that is

free and allows a few nights' lodging at a time, and the other that charges a few *sen* a night, allowing the lodger to stay until some permanent means of livelihood are obtained. Except the Tōkyō Free Lodging House, all belong to the latter class.

Secluded among the mountains, Toyomura, Nakakuma district, Yamanashi prefecture, is a village where not a single rice-field is met with. Tradition says that some 350 years ago the famous warrior Taketa-Shingen, who governed this locality, ordered persimmon-trees to be planted over the land so as to make up for the sterility of the soil. Such being the real state of this district, the village officials have tried all possible means

Employment-office at Toyomura and Tsurugaoka. to urge habits of providence and diligence among the inhabitants. In the time of the

late war, Kan Ogasawara, the village headman, devoted himself to the work of furnishing situations for those out of work, examining the capacity of each applicant, and apportioning them among those who wanted to engage labourers, in proportion to the number desired.

The employment-office at the town of Tsurugaoka, Yamagata prefecture, is conducted in a more shrewd and effective way than the above. In this case a relief executive commission is appointed. After a careful examination of the condition of those who want to hire labourers the commission distributes poor and distressed

workers among them according to their demand to the satisfaction of both parties. Employers are requested to pay to the commission one *sen* a day per employee out of the wages to be given to the labourers. The money is then deposited as a relief fund in postal savings-banks against the sickness or other misfortunes of the employees.

CHAPTER VII.

Education of the Masses

 HE relief of the common people does not consist merely in providing employment to men and women out of work : the way to lay a solid and permanent foundation for their self-support is to discipline and instruct them in such a way as to lead them to the path of virtue and morality. It is a matter for sincere congratulation to observe that with a considerable increase in the number of working men and women in recent years, the means of promoting their morality as well as of developing their ability are being steadily augmented.

The Silk Spinning Joint-Stock Company at Okayama has framed and put into operation regulations respecting the encouragement and protection of its operative, providing that girls who have served there for a period of over three years running, making themselves models to others, shall receive copper, silver, or gold medals, according to their services and merits.

The Kanegafuchi Cotton Spinning Company, which is considered to be the most conspicuous of its kind, is very careful in the training of its operatives. With a view to regulating their mode of living, its Hyōgo



The Entertainment Hall of the Kanegafuchi Cotton Spinning Company



Etiquette-training in the Company

**Welfare work at the
Kanegafuchi Cotton
Spinning Company,**

Branch Office, has, as the first step, assigned different rooms to day-workers, night-workers, beginners, and those who are still very young, in order to improve their habits and manners ; besides, when they are not working, they are made to wear different clothes from those they wear when at work, lest they should look shabby and indecent ; and for the preservation of their health, they are provided with bath-rooms, toilet-rooms, and laundries. Moreover, the company sets apart, out of the profit for each term, a certain portion as a sanitation fund, and lays it out in things best calculated to promote their welfare. In the centre of a spacious hall in one of the buildings there stands a family Buddhist shrine with the mortuary tablets arranged thereon, commemorative of the operatives who have died at the factory ; requiem services are held for the departed souls ; and Buddhist sermons are given from time to time, so as to exert a religious influence upon the girls. On the holidays fixed for each month as well as on those at the beginning of the year and on the three grand national holidays, there are given at this hall, for their amusement, entertainments of various descriptions,—storytelling, performances, cinematographs, etc. With the object of placing the operatives' families in a good condition, improvement has been made in the houses belonging to the company, which are rented to some of the girls in order

to encourage long continued service. A mutual relief union has been organized, obliging each operative to subscribe towards the fund from three to ten per cent. of her wages, while the company on its part contributes a sum of money equal to the amount thus raised ; the fund is to be used for relief in case of disease or death as well as for superannuation, the most striking feature thereof being that those who are in receipt of a monthly salary of above 50 *yen* or daily wages of over 2 *yen* are not entitled to participate in the relief fund, though they are obliged to make contributions at the rate above referred to. Such a system may well be said to conduce to the education of the working classes.

A rare case is the Itō Filature which is credited with treating its workmen and workwomen with the same care and tenderness as if they were the flesh and blood of the owner. In the province of Ise

The Itō Filature conducted on the family system.

there is a small village named Muroyama, Shigōmura, over a mile west of Yokkaichi town. Saburō Itō, a man of means in the village, is known far and wide among his countrymen for the model filature conducted by him. The reputation he has won is due not so much to the quantity as to the quality of the silk produced, the excellency of which is traceable to the harmonious relation existing between the master of the factory and the neighbouring sericulturists. Being the material for making

raw silk, the selection of cocoons is, it need scarcely be said, naturally regarded as of great importance, so that in this matter also the factory in question leaves no means untried, making a point of never buying cocoons brought for sale without previous notice, or those of an unknown quality: every year it buys them from the regular customers, and from no others; and to those sericulturists who bring over one *koku* (4.9629 bushels) it gives a bounty of one *yen* together with a certificate of merit. Being fully aware of the necessity of feeding silkworms on good mulberry-leaves in order to obtain silk of superior quality, every year the factory distributes the shoots of good mulberry-trees among the sericulturists it is dealing with, and teaches them how to cultivate the plants. As may be expected, the factory studies with great assiduity the method of employing and treating its operatives: no girls are taken into service, who have offered themselves without introductions, or who have been in the employ of other factories, the reason being that in the former case their character and disposition are unascertainable, while in the latter they have too often contracted bad habits; and it employs only such girls as have been closely connected with the factory, or the daughters of those who are on intimate terms with the operatives. Hence the relation between the master of the filature and its work-women is not that between employer and employee, but such as is seen

between parent and child ; it is indeed very lovely and affectionate, and it is, for this reason, called a "factory on the family system," all the household from the master downwards sitting at the same table and partaking of the same dishes,—a feature rarely met with in other factories.

For the protection of the working classes the Factory Law has lately been enacted which is expected greatly to improve their condition. In the discipline and instruction of the masses, the next in importance to the training of the working classes, and most closely connected with home education is that of servant-girls and nurse-maids. People who talk about the improvement of the home, it is true, there are in plenty, but unfortunately they do not go a step further and dwell enough on the education of servant-girls and nurse-maids, which has a great deal to do with the home. There are, however, not altogether wanting in various parts of our country men who pay attention to this question and make the necessary provision for it and such a tendency is highly important and most welcome.

**The Maid-servants' Schools
at Niigata and Nagaoka.**

As a means of educating the masses, the Niigata Municipality Women's Educational Society organized a class for maid-servants called "Fuzoku Kyōjō," where some grammar school teachers, taking turns, give instructions at night once a week for two

or three hours, on the national language, arithmetic, sewing, morality and so forth. Besides the servant-girls they admit girls who can not attend the regular school on account of their work during the daytime. They are mostly from twelve to twenty years of age.

The Niigata Prefectural Girls' Educational Society also has a class for the same purpose. The number of those attending in both cases varies each year from 40 to 80. In some instances women who until thirty years of age had never known how to write or sew, learned in half a year enough to keep books of account or to mend their own clothes. The result of this education is conspicuous in improving the manners of the pupils, making them very satisfactory to their employers.

A matter not less important is the education of nursemaids since it bears in no small measure upon the bringing up of the children under their care.

The Zenkōji at Nagano is one of the oldest temples in Japan, and is much visited by people far and near,

day in and day out. Different kinds of performances are given in the compound and attract many a nurse-maid thither every day, who, idling away her time amidst these good-for-nothing sports and shows, unconsciously acquires evil manners, learns to speak vulgar language, and sing obscene snatches of songs, until her habits grow into a second nature, and what is worse, the

**Instruction of nurse-
maids at Nagano.**

innocent baby on her back in its turn catches her bad ways. A few years ago the situation had grown rather serious, when Bin Watanabe, the headmaster of the primary school of the city, happening to hear of the good results attained by Yashiro-machi, Hanishina district, in the education of its nurse-maids, went himself to inspect its actual condition. Seeing the way they were instructed, and observing them pursue their studies with zest, he was fully convinced of the possibility of successfully educating nurse-maids, provided that the services of good efficient teachers were secured. In the 27th year of Meiji (1894) he opened a school for their instruction at Nagano. Since then the nurse-maids have broken off their old bad habits; the large number of girls who formerly used to flock into the precincts of the temple has consequently much decreased; the vulgar songs have given place to innocent ones such as are heard in schools. Not a few of them who had been unable to write home have been so far improved as to be able to send their parents cards or letters written with their own hands, to the latter's surprise and satisfaction.

The origin of the Jutoku Nurse-Maids' school was as follows. The Buddhist priest Sakko Yamahashi in charge of Choshōji in the city of
The Jutoku Nurse- Takasaki used to observe *Komoris* (little
maids' School. girls taking care of babies) singing some obscure songs, or engaging in



Instruction of Nurse-maids at Takasaki

some dangerous games in the premises of his temple. He tried to correct their conduct, inviting them into the temple, and giving them every day easy characters to learn, now talking on a moral subject, now teaching them songs appropriate for the children. He kept this up until at last he conceived the idea of forming a school which he realized in the Jutoku Nurse-maids' School. At first he was in doubt as to its success; but it was not long before the people of Takasaki recognized the necessity of such movement, and to assist the priest in his work, they decided to rent a part of a grammar school building in that city. When Sakko started the work, he used to carry a floor-cloth with him and whenever he saw indecent writings or drawings on fences for instances he would erase them, thinking them to be mischief done by his pupils. So careful was he in bringing up the girls. As a wholesome effect of this work, the little nurse-maids instead of going to disreputable places where cheap shows and other vulgar entertainments were going on, would select some quite open spot for their rendezvous, and not only would they desist from singing ribald songs or otherwise behaving unseemly, they became very kind to the children in their charge who in turn were thus saved from forming bad habits. Besides this one in Takasaki, there is a private nurse-maid school in Kyōto and several grammar schools in other places which have classes for the benefit of the girls and are doing good work.

Among other instrumentalities of education of the masses, libraries deserve special mention. Of late libraries

Libraries. are increasing with great rapidity in Japan

and at present there are 450 libraries including the State libraries, municipal libraries, and private libraries that are open to the public, and the books belonging to these libraries number as many as 2,500,000 volumes. They are open every day and many allow the readers to take out the books from the libraries after proper application. Moreover the number of "easy libraries" (that is libraries containing easy books) have increased so enormously that there is hardly a town or village that is not provided with one, though some of them are very small. There are about 30,000 young men's associations in Japan and most of them have libraries for the exclusive use of the members and allow the books to be circulated among them. In Tōkyō for instance there are more than a dozen of these public "easy libraries" which are open to the children over seven years of age and also to the general public. They are always crowded with readers. The rapid increase of circulating libraries is also one of the conspicuous phenomena in recent years. In the prefecture of Yamaguchi, there are more than seventy of them which are all fully utilized.

In Niigata there is an association called "the Sekizen Kumiai," having 45,000 members, the chief object of

**The Niigata Sekizen Kumiai
and its circulating library.**

which is to lay by a reserve fund against misfortunes to the members arising from natural disasters and other causes. The association not being satisfied with its original aim, established a circulating library in the 41st year of Meiji to meet the urgent demand of the time, and they have more than fifty reading rooms in different parts of Niigata prefecture through which the books are circulated for the benefit of the members.

CHAPTER VIII

Education of the Blind and the Deaf-Mute
and Correction of Stammering

N the foregoing chapters ordinary works of relief have been treated; the present one is devoted to the description of some special kinds of relief-works. The matter first demanding attention in this connection is the education of the blind and the deaf-mute. Independent life and self-support are certainly most honourable qualities in man, but there are people who, on account of disablement or deformity, are unable to work as they will; among such are to be mentioned the blind, the deaf and the dumb. Unless kindly guided and properly cared for, they will never be able to enjoy the blessings of Heaven all their lives, hence there is no civilized nation but provides them with special schools for their improvement and instruction.

The system of protection of the blind in Japan has a very ancient origin: the office of "Kengyō" (blind court musicians) was established as far back as the Ochō Period (about 1,200 years ago); while amongst

History of the blind and deaf-mute institutes in our country.

the people, the blind supported themselves and their families by practicing massage or acupuncture, thus making themselves useful

to others instead of being a burden to them. But not until the beginning of Meiji, was a school established for the education of the blind and the deaf-mute. In the eighth year of Meiji (1875) Sen Tsuda and Yōzō Yamao founded an institution under the name of "Rakuzen-kai" (Benevolence Association) at Tōkyō, for the training and instruction of the blind, and in the following year (1876)

**The Tōkyō Blind School
and the Tōkyō Deaf-mute
School.**

they obtained permission of the authorities for the establishment of the Tōkyō Kun-mō-in (Tōkyō Blind Institute), the first of its kind in Japan, the Imperial Household Department donating most of the expenses required for its foundation. In the 12th year (1880) the construction of the buildings was completed, and the school was opened in the following year (1881). Some years after, the institution was enlarged into a blind and deaf-mute school, and was then placed under the direct control of the Department of Education; this is the history of the former Tōkyō Blind and Deaf-mute School now the Tōkyō Blind School and the Tōkyō Deaf-mute School. For some years past Shimpachi Konishi, director of the institution, with the assistance of the Military Protection Association, has been accommodating the soldiers deprived of sight in the war, and instructing them in such a way as to qualify them to support themselves and fill independent positions in life.

The Blind and Deaf-mute Institute at Kyōto was

also first established in the beginning of the Meiji era. It was in the 11th year of Meiji (1878) that in company with persons interested in the matter, Tashirō Furukawa started a training school for the blind and deaf-mute under the name of "Mōa-in" (Blind and Deaf-mute Institute). Later, in the 22nd year of Meiji (1889) it was turned into municipal property and has since assumed the present appellation of "Mōa-gakkō" (Blind and Deaf-mute School).

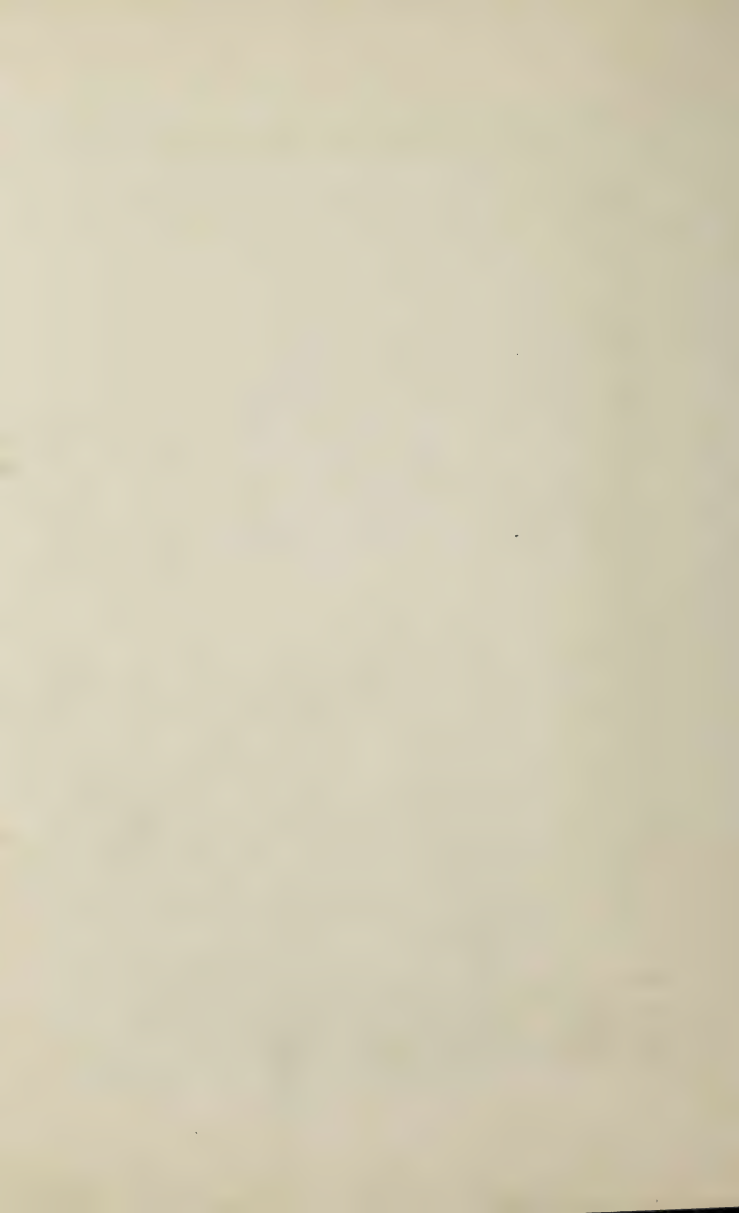
The Nagasaki Blind and Deaf-mute School is conducted by the Nagasaki Charitable Society and is the third oldest institution of the kind in Japan. This charitable association had its origin in October of the 24th year of Meiji when, at the time of the great earthquake in Mino and Owari, musical concerts and stereopticon lectures were held in order to raise money for the sufferers from that catastrophe. In November of the 26th year it became a permanent institution and its original object was to provide against natural disaster. But later on it widened its scope and took in other relief works. There being no school for the blind and deaf-mute in Kyūhū in those days, the association was started one in the 31st year of Meiji and as the pupils increased in number the school was moved and enlarged and at the same time they changed its former name of Mōa-in into the present Nagasaki Mōa-Gakkō. It has the ordinary



The Tōkyō School for the Blind



The Tōkyō School for the Deaf-mute



course of five years and the craft of four years. In the ordinary department, common education is given and in the craft department which is divided into two divisions, one for the blind and the other for the deaf-mute, they have courses on massage and acupuncture for the former, and drawings, embroidery, sewing, carving, joinery-works for the latter. The students in the craft department only are charged a small monthly fee, the ordinary department being absolutely free. At present there are about one hundred pupils evenly divided between the blind and the deaf-mute.

The institution was founded in the 42nd year of Meiji, with the assistance of several men, by Lieutenant

**The Japan Blindmen's
Association.**

Yamaoka who lost his sight by a shot in the Russo-Japanese war and who made up his mind to devote his remaining life to the cause of the blind. It has its office in Tōkyō. To extend education among the blind, it publishes books of the Braille system and holds educational lecture-meetings. The most notable books published by the institution are translations of the State text-books for the grammar school, and the Blindmen's Magazine. The former are supplied to all the schools for the blind in Japan. The institution gives entertainment to the inmates from time to time, by holding musical concerts and hiring story-tellers. If there are blind people in distress without any one to help them,

the institution looks after them and, if possible, endeavours to give them some work to do. The earnest efforts of the founder won many sympathizers who have great confidence in him. What the institution has contributed towards the welfare of the blind is very great indeed.

The education of the deaf-mute and that of the blind were started at the same time in Japan and are even now, with one exception, conducted side by side in the same institutions. But what deserves special notice as a new departure in the education of these unfortunate people is the segregation of the blind and the deaf-mute, first put into practice in the 43rd year of Meiji when the Tōkyō Blind and Deaf-mute School divided itself into the school for the blind and the school for the deaf-mute, thus facilitating the more effective specialization of the work in the case of each. According to the latest statistics, there are 68 schools for the blind and the deaf-mute, of which eleven are State or other public institutions. They are all giving such subjects of study and training as are most useful for the blind and the deaf-mute. The equipment for this kind of relief work is being vastly improved.

Though it is in no wise comparable to the misfortune of the mute, stammering is a great affliction which needs special attention for its cure. Shūji Izawa, a member of the House of Peers, who has devoted himself to the cause of education in our country, has

done a great deal for the cure of stammering. There being no effective method of curing the impediment known

Curing stammering at in our country, S. Izawa set him-
the Rakuseki-sha. self to its investigation, and in the

36th year of Meiji, founded the Rakuseki-sha in Tōkyō and later on a branch institution in Sakawa, Kanagawa prefecture, for the purpose of curing stammerers. His method of curing was so successful that the applicants increased rapidly until it became necessary to establish branch institutions in Osaka, Kōbe, Nagoya and Hiroshima. He started also treatment by correspondence, and often goes out into the provinces on invitation. During the ten years since the establishment of the institution, the number of persons cured of stammering by his method is about 4,000. He cures even the worst cases in five weeks at most, and ordinary cases in only three weeks. The institution does not take any fee from poor people. Not only has the institution done good work in curing the stammering, but it is endeavouring to spread the knowledge of the means for its prevention by distributing tracts and giving lectures on the subject.

CHAPTER IX

Reformatory Works and the Protection of
Ex-convicts

VARIOUS as are the ways to prevent the commission of crimes, yet there are two things requiring special notice in connection with the reformation of prisons: one is the correction of depraved children; the other is the protection of discharged prisoners. The object of the former is to discipline and instruct depraved youths so as to prevent them from acquiring evil manners; while the latter means the protection of those who have been in prison for a violation of the law, with the object of amending their morals.

The Chiba Reformatory which was established more than twenty years ago by persons interested in this work was the first to educate depraved youth. Which was afterward placed under the charge of Shinshō-ji at Narita-san whence it took its present

Origin of the work of reforming depraved children.

name of the Narita-san Reformatory. Later the Tōkyō Reformatory was founded at Shimo-Shibuya, Tōkyō-fu, and the "Home School" was started at Sugamo, its aim being to educate depraved children on the family principle and inculcate in them a taste for home,—the faculty they most lack.

In the 33rd year of Meiji regulations relating to reforming depraved children were enacted, though they were not enforced immediately. It was on this occasion that

**The Reformatory
Law.**

the Tōkyō Municipal asylum established a reformatory, the present Inokashira School, which is located in Musashino-mura in the prefecture of Tōkyō, and though it was originally a purely municipal establishment, it is now organized as the prefectural reformatory as well. The first reformatory school founded by a prefecture was the Kanagawa Prefectural Kuniku-in; then followed the Akita Tōiku-in and the Saitama Gaku-en.

Since the enactment of the said reformatory regulations, many years had elapsed and the penal code had been revised, necessitating the speedy establishment of reformatories, when in the 41st year of Meiji the regulations themselves were revised on one hand, and provisions were made to secure subsidies from the national treasury, and on the other hand the Government began to conduct lecture classes to train the workers engaged in this enterprise, as the result of which both public and private reformatories sprang up one after another until now there are fifty-four of them. Of these twenty-six are public institutions and the remaining twenty-eight private. There are 1,300 inmates of these institutions. Of the 28 private institutions 25 are organized as semi-prefectural reformatories so that every prefecture has now

one or more public or semi-public reformatories. At first the names Gaku-in and Gakkō (meaning school) were used in stead of Reformatory, probably from the desire to give the children as much self-respect as possible.

To mention only a few institutions here, the first reformatory which was established with the special object of reforming depraved children by surrounding them with the family atmosphere which is, as a rule, most

The Home School. lacking to them, is the Home School

founded by Kōsuke Tomeoka. He was formerly a Christian minister and as a chaplain of Hokkaidō Penitentiary had opportunity to learn the characteristics of the prisoners, the motives and circumstances of their crimes and the causes of their repeating offences. He came to the conclusion that most criminals form their evil habits in their childhood and that the first requisite for the prevention of crimes was to reform the depraved children.

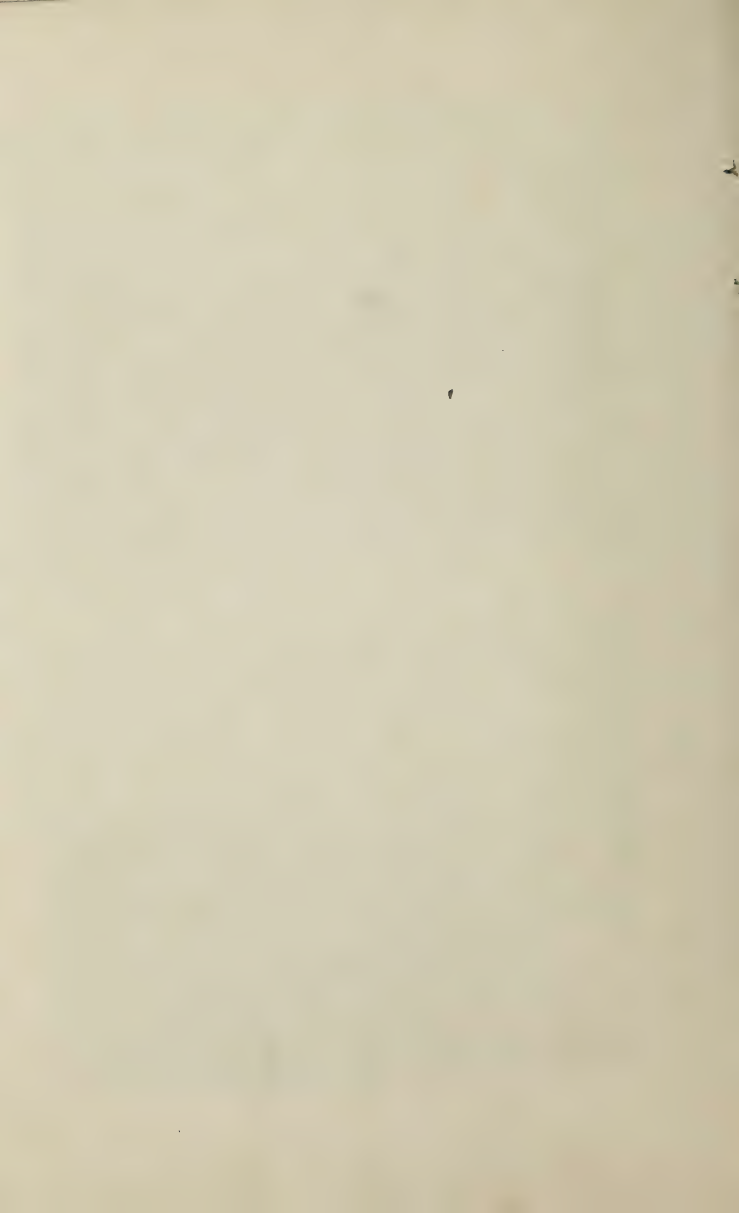
So resigning the chaplainship, he went over to America, and after making an extensive study of prison reform and reformatory works, he became more firmly fixed than ever in his belief. After his return, he settled in Sugamo, a suburb of Tōkyō, and established the Home School. Within the compound of the school there are a lecture hall, an office, several "homes," workshops and resident houses for the staff. Each "home" has from ten to fifteen pupils under a "house master" and



The Entrance of the Home School



A Farm of the same School



his wife who tend them as if they were their own children. In the forenoon the pupils are given either the grammar school course or the high school course according to their grade, and in the afternoon they receive instruction on some practical lines of business, which are chiefly agriculture, carpentry, mechanics and laundry work. The motto of the school is honesty, industry and cleanliness. And although Christianity is the basis for the moral training of the pupils here, and Christian rituals are even adopted, yet the main object is not to convert them to that religion. During the ten years since its opening the school has taken in 230 children and 126 have gone out of it after being satisfactorily reformed. Lately the school has acquired 2,450 acres of uncultivated land in Hokkaidō on which work has already been commenced for making it a farm for the reformatory.

The Saitama Gaku-en is in the town of Urawa, Saitama prefecture, and is one of the oldest prefectural reformatories.

The Saitama Gaku-en.

The president, the house master and his wife are all graduates of the prefectural normal school and are well experienced in educational work. The school devotes half a day to the common school education and the other half to farming, about $\frac{1}{40}$ of acre being allotted to each pupil for cultivation. What this school emphasizes as the most effective way of reforming depraved

children is the bringing of them into touch with nature. Since its establishment it has taken in 61 boys and boys only. Eighteen left the school properly reformed, and at present there are over thirty inmates.

The protection and reformation of discharged prisoners is just as necessary as is special care of the health of those who have left the hospital and are in convalescence. Some years ago regulations regarding the treat-

Protection of discharged prisoners by self-governing bodies.

ment and protection of discharged prisoners were enacted in Tokushima prefecture, and some by-laws with regard to discharged prisoners in Aomori prefecture, both of which make it incumbent on the self-governing bodies to extend protection to prisoners whenever they are discharged,—a system which bears a close relation to what was known in the days of the Tokugawa government as the "Gonin-gumi" and is very efficacious as a means of checking second offences. Besides this system there are now many institutions for the protection of discharged prisoners which are maintained by private individuals or associations. Among others, the Discharged

The Discharged Prisoners Protection Association at Shizuoka.

Prisoners Protection Association which was established at Shizuoka in the 21st year of Meiji (1888), was the pioneer in this field of public enterprises in our country. It is not a

little indebted to the assistance rendered by Meizen Kimbara for the carrying out of its work as well as for the inception of the plan. Having occasion to visit a friend in prison who had long been confined for a political offence, Kimbara came to acquire a minute knowledge of prison life, and was induced to found a reformatory under the name of "Kanzen-kai" (Good-promoting Association), designed to teach prisoners human duties and moral principles. At the time it so happened that a convict in the Shizuoka prison, following the admonition given by the reformatory, repented of his past crimes, and resolved to turn over a new leaf, when set at liberty. On returning to his former home upon the expiration of his term, he found to his great disappointment, that his wife had married another man and he was a slighted and wronged "Enoch Arden"; he then gave himself up to despair, and out of utter hopelessness and despondency committed suicide by throwing himself into a pond, leaving a note behind. Kimbara heard of this sad occurrence and was greatly moved by the story. Thinking it as necessary to protect discharged prisoners as to instruct those who are serving their terms in prison, he, together with some other persons, took a further step, expanding the reformatory into a Discharged Prisoners Protection Association. Every time Kimbara goes to Shizuoka, he lodges at the office of the Association, and mingles with the discharg-

ed prisoners quartered there, taking baths with them, and acting in every way, as if associating with the members of his own family. Few persons possess such a philanthropic and selfsacrificing spirit. Meizen is in the habit of saying, "At the age of 30 I was taken dangerously ill and was on the point of death. Fortunately, I survived the malady and have lived to this day. Man's life is as fleeting and evanescent as the morning dew; one must not boast oneself of to-morrow. It is, therefore, man's proper duty to do some imperishable service, leaving behind him footprints on the sands of time. As for myself, by the grace of Heaven I have enjoyed a reprieve of over forty years in this life, so that I consider myself bound to undertake an enterprise that the world thinks the most arduous." He is now at the advanced age of eighty; yet he is performing his duties with such willingness and assiduity, that the discharged prisoners under his care are said to be inspired by his noble acts of benevolence and good will.

The protective work for discharged prisoners carried on by Taneaki Hara is also bearing fruit. In the 16th year of Meiji (1883) Hara started a printshop on Ginza street, Tōkyō. Having published in some of his books statements bearing on affairs of State, he was put in prison at Ishikawa-jima for a political offence, where he awoke to the necessity of reforming prisoners. After he was discharged, he with some other Christians ac-

cepted the post of prison chaplain, and in that capacity served successively at Kōbe and in the Hokkaidō, performing his duties very faithfully and untiringly. For more than ten years he had done his utmost for the correction of the criminals he came in contact with, till the 29th year of Meiji (1896) when, on the demise of the late Empress Dowager, prisoners were discharged, by a special act of pardon, to the number of over 13,500, making it most imperative to provide protection and guidance for them: thereupon, Hara resigned his post of chaplain, and established a home for the protection of discharged prisoners at Kanda, trying to do what he could for their moral improvement as well as to make them self-supporting citizens. The number of the discharged prisoners so far sheltered at the home has reached 2,042, not less than 1500 of them finding means of living for themselves. In addition to the work of protecting discharged prisoners, he is now endeavoring to dispose of the young vagrants that come up to Tōkyō from provinces, either by sending them home or by finding situations for them.

Sonota Hashimoto is a jailor at the Gumma Prison and is devoting himself to the protection of discharged prisoners. His motive for embarking in this commendable enterprise is also quite inspiring and worthy of

**Protection of discharged
prisoners and the office
of turnkey.**

imitation. In the 27th year of Meiji (1894) he caught a burglar who had broken into his house, and on inquiring about his condition of life, he learned that the would-be thief was a discharged prisoner, and that having no relations or old acquaintances to look to for help, found it difficult to keep the wolf from the door, and was obliged to betake himself to larceny. The kind man pardoned the offender, gave him admonition repeatedly and just for trial made him his servant. The man proved very faithful in his duties and practiced thrift and diligence, even saving some money. From this experience Hashimoto concluded that it was not utterly impossible, though difficult, to lead discharged prisoners to the path of grihteousness, and resolved to devote his whole life to the protection and improvement of these wretched fellows. In order to get well acquainted with the condition of prisons he offered himself for the post of turnkey, and has ever since concentrated his whole mind upon the work, so far taking in upwards of 120 discharged prisoners in all.

**The amnesty and the
protection of the
discharged prisoners.**

Thus the work for the protection of the discharged prisoners was started before that of reforming the depraved children, and although its result was very satisfactory, it did not attract

much attention. Some eighty small institutions only existed in Japan at the time of the demise of Emperor Meiji. On that occasion many prisoners were discharged through amnesty, and in keeping with this act of clemency, the workers in this line of relief, the religious people and others who were interested in the work, made concerted efforts for the protection of the ex-convicts, as the result of which there are now 250 institutions conducted either by individuals or by corporations and more than a hundred that were organized under the help of village communities.

Very recently Baron Mitsui Hachirojirō offered 750,000 *yen* for the protection of discharged prisoners, and with this fund the Hosei-kai, has been incorporated and it has been decided that this institution should act as the central organ for this protective work.

**The Hosei-kai, the
central organ for the
protection of the
discharged prisoners.**

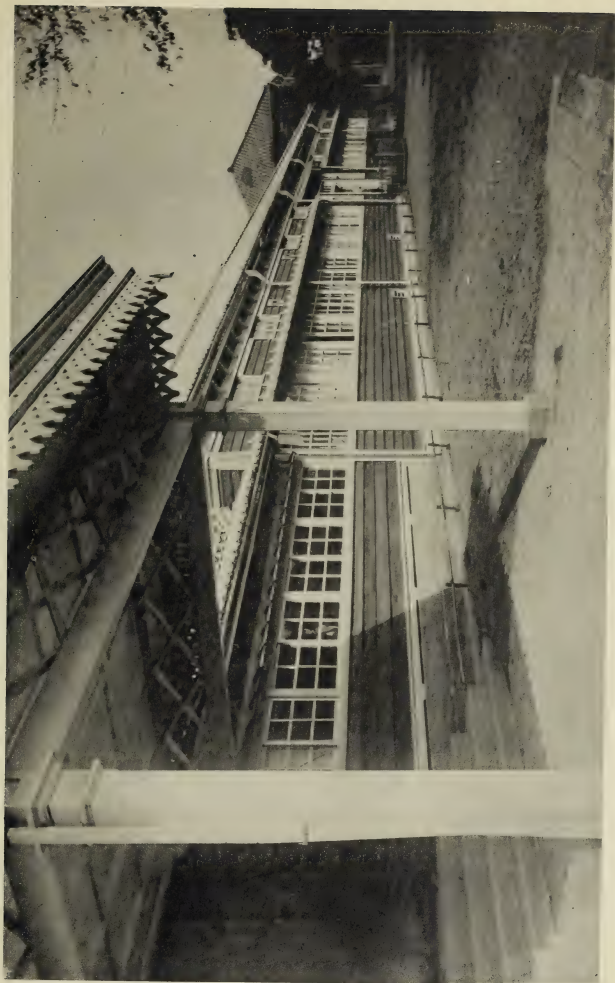
CHAPTER X

Dispensaries and Medical Treatment

 AMONG the oldest corporations that give free medical treatment are the Tōkyō Municipal asylum, the Tōkyō Free Vaccination Society and the Dōai-sha in Tōkyō, and the Hakodate Hakuai-in in Hokkaidō. This relief work has made great progress and there are several institutions that may be taken as models in the way of doing their work and in the completeness of their equipment.

The Japanese Red-cross Society is a corporate juridical person established with the special support of the Imperial House in the year 1877. **The Japanese Red Cross Society.** Later it joined the International Red Cross Society. It has its head-quarters in Tōkyō and many branch offices in the provinces. It canvasses for members all over the country, and their contributions are the chief source of income.

Having hospitals in Tōkyō and in the provinces the institution treats patients in general and also trains nurses, and in case of natural calamity, doctors and nurses are sent to look after the injured persons. Lately it has decided to appropriate certain sum of money for the prevention of tuberculosis, the sum thus appropriated for the third year of Taishō being 30,000 *yen*.



The Tōkyō Charity Hospital

The total assets of the society at present are estimated at 18,260,000 *yen*.

The Tōkyō Charity Hospital was established in the 15th year of Meiji under the patronage of the late
The Tōkyō Charity Hospital. Empress Dowager Shōken, and Princess Arisugawa is the President

with many nobles on the staff. At each annual general meeting the Empress graces the occasion with Her Majesty's presence and is pleased to give presents to the patients. When the hospital work had to be extended the late Empress Dowager Shōken, who was Empress at that time, granted 100,000 *yen*. The total number of patients treated at the hospital during the thirty years of its existence (from Meiji 15 to 45) is more than 540,000, and the aggregate number of per capita days, 3,650,000.

According to the report of the 2nd year of Taishō, the new resident-patients during that year numbered 1,550; the aggregate number of per capita days, 50,500. The new non-resident patients, 30,000; and the aggregate number of per capita days 274,000. The entire property of the hospital is estimated at 8,000,000 *yen*. The institution has a medical college and a training school for nurses. Baron Takagi, one of the founders of the hospital is the President.

In the 39th year of Meiji, the Mitsui family, one of the richest in Japan, built the Mitsui Charity Hospital,

**The Mitsui Charity
Hospital.**

a foundational juridical person, in the central part of Tōkyō for the purpose of giving medical relief, costing 400,000 *yen* out of the entire fund of 1,000,000 *yen*, and immediately opened it to the public. The number of new resident patients during the 2nd year of Taishō was 1,135; and the aggregate number of per capita days, 37,300. Beside it took in many cases of infectious diseases. The number of new non-resident patients for the same year was more than 17,800; the aggregate number of per capita days being 334,400. The expense incurred during that year was about 85,000 *yen*.

The free dispensary work in Tōkyō had been carried on by private charitable associations and private hospitals until the 44th year of Meiji when the municipality of

**The Tōkyō Municipal
Dispensary.**

Tōkyō, feeling the necessity of establishing a municipal institution for this purpose, opened a general dispensary, comprising medicine, surgery, eye, ear, nose, throat, dentary and female disease departments. When the establishment of the dispensary was first discussed, the Mitsui family heartily approved of it and donated a large sum of money. This sum and other contributions make up the principal fund; but the interest accruing from it is only one tenth of the expenses of the dispensary, so that the city is paying the deficit from its own treasury. There are only 150 beds in the

hospital, but the number of the non-resident patients has steadily increased, as may be seen by the following figures for the last one month ; The new patients 1,721, patients for re-treatment 10,296. The physicians employed in this institution are furnished by the Naval Medical School.

The medical relief work which is under the direct management of the Imperial Relief Association for the

Imperial Relief Association Sick and Poor is only that done
for the Sick and Poor. in the city of Tōkyō. In the

provinces the work is done indirectly through provincial magistrates. In Tōkyō it has eight stations in different parts of the city, where treatment is given and from which doctors and nurses are sent out to visit the sick people. The station in Kojimachi is equipped with 80 beds and admits resident patients. Besides the permanent stations there are four groups of visiting doctors and nurses, each group having for its own circuit one of the four districts into which the city is divided for the purpose. They make daily visits to the poor quarters, completing the circuit in a month. Lately they organized an auxiliary group to assist the regular group. As their stations and groups are still insufficient, they are contemplating an increase when they secure more funds. There were 31,000 patients during the year and a half since its establishment, and the aggregate number of per day patients was 706,000. It has been

decided to build, within the present year, hospitals in those places where there are now branch office only. The relief work of this society outside of the city of Tōkyō is, as has been said, entrusted to provincial magistrates. They have regulations according to which patients are given "hospital tickets" from city or town halls or police stations which admit the holders to certain designated hospitals to receive medical treatment. Osaka, Yokohama, Mito, Wakayama have already established stations, and Aomori will build one in the near future. Hospitals, doctors, and druggists everywhere in the country, deeply moved by the gracious act of the late Emperor of Meiji, have shown profound sympathy for the society and they give their services and supply materials to the society at reduced rates. The estimates for the first, the second and the third year of Taishō are respectively 250,000 *yen*., 350,000 *yen*., and 450,000 *yen*.. Of these sums 50,000 *yen* was appropriated every year as a part of the expenses for the medical treatment of tuberculous people. This yearly increase in the expenditure is made possible by the increase of the fund and the time may not be far distant when the annual expenditure will reach 1,000,000 *yen*.

It is needless to say that the spread of tuberculosis will seriously impede the development of a nation. Accordingly our Government presented a bill, in the second year of Taishō, for providing convalescent hospitals

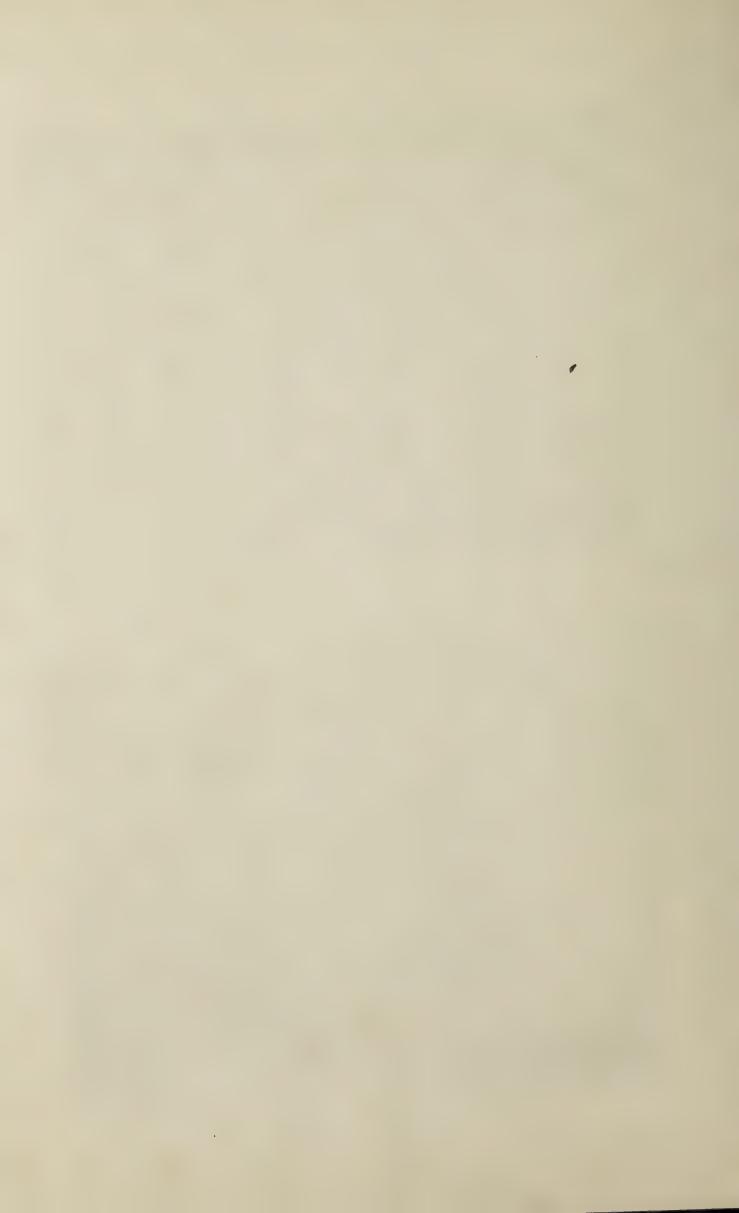
**Convalescent hospitals
for tuberculous people.**



A Sick-room in the Mitsui Charity Hospital



Visiting Doctors of the Imperial Relief Association for
the Sick and Poor at work



for the tuberculous people and for obtaining a subsidy from the national treasury, which bill was passed unanimously to be put in force from the next year.

This law authorizes the minister in charge of this matter to order, in case of necessity, any city having a larger population than 300,000, to establish convalescent hospitals for the sufferers from that disease. In such cases and also in the case where such hospital is established by a private association, the national treasury is to furnish from $\frac{1}{6}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ of the expenses paid by the city or the association. The cities having a population of more than 300,000 in Japan are Tōkyō, Osaka, Kyōto, Kōbe, Yokohama, and Nagoya. The hospitals are to be completed in four years and when they are completed their total capacity is estimated to be large enough to accommodate 1,250 patients. As the result of this law, and of the establishment of the institutions for the prevention of tuberculous disease, the work in this direction is making rapid progress.

Some years ago the Government also enacted laws in regard to lepers, and dividing the whole country into five parts, ordered them to build quarantine houses for lepers, granting to each institution as an annual subsidy from $\frac{1}{6}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ of the expenses incurred by it. Besides, there are quarantine houses established by some religious people whose self-sacrificing efforts have been rewarded with good results.

CHAPTER XI

Rich People's work for the Public Welfare

 T goes without saying that the successful carrying out of relief involves no small expense, so that the necessary funds must be raised by the formation of foundations or by contributions by rich and benevolent persons.

The "Gi-sō" (a kind of charity granary) at Fukuyama-machi, Fukayasu district, Hiroshima prefecture,

and the "Kan-non-kō" (Thanks-giving Union) at Akita, Ugo province, are both celebrated

Two celebrated endowments of long standing.
endowment of long standing,—two luminaries, as it were, of public work, the one in the South and the other in the North of Japan. The establishment of the former dates from the first year of the Bunka era, over a hundred years ago. After undergoing many changes, the "Gi-sō" originally designed to succour poverty at ordinary times has been altered into a foundation for the encouragement of industries and the education of promising youths in the province. For the accomplishment of the former object, i.e. the encouragement of productive industry, the "Gi-sō" make subventions for the district and village agricultural societies, competitive exhibitions of agricultural products, and lecture classes for the straw-braid industry. In the

field of education it bears some of the expenses of the educational societies, the industrial schools, etc. Since the 35th year of Meiji (1902) it has been advancing educational funds to poor students of promise so as to rear capable men and women. It is at present supporting more than ten students who are studying at the Universities, Agricultural Schools, Higher Girls' Schools, and Commercial Schools. In the feudal days many charity and communal granaries were in existence, but with the abolition of clans and the establishment of prefectures they all fell into decay, except the Fukuyama "Gi-sō" alone, which has lived for over a century through all vicissitudes, and finds itself at present on a very firm basis, with a capital of 160,000 *yen*.

The Akita Kan-nonkō (Thanksgiving Union) was established in the 12th year of the Bunsei era (about eighty years ago) by Nawa-Saburoemon, who thought that nothing in life was so difficult to endure as indigence, and inspired with public spirit, determined to relieve poverty and want. It has since then undergone several changes in its organization, but the main object kept in view throughout has been the relief of needy widows, helpless orphans, disabled and deformed persons, those who have been succoured since its foundation numbering as many as fifty thousand. The actual results of the work done by the Union were such, however, that there were not a few families unable to extricate themselves from the

hardships of poverty in the course of several generations, though they had received aid from the Union, the reason being, no doubt, that over-anxious to supply poor people with food and clothings it had not paid enough attention to their education and training. With the intention of remedying this defect, the Union established a children's asylum in the 39th year of Meiji (1906) to bring up such boys and girls as can not attend school regularly on account of poverty, giving them a sort of home education, and instructing them in a manual training course besides in the subjects prescribed in the compulsory education, so that men and women fitted for practical business may be turned out and the main object of relief be attained thereby. Thus the Union though originally designed merely for the relief of the poor has been much improved on and expanded into an organ to educate poor youth. It has a fund of 200,000 *yen* at present.

In order to carry out relief successfully the establishment of foundations only is not sufficient, a great deal depending upon what is done by benevolent men of wealth in its cause.

A few years ago Zenjirō Yasuda donated to the Tōkyō Jikei-in (Charity Hospital) 30 bedsteads, offering at the

**The rich peoples' work
for public benefit.**

same time to bear the expenses necessary for the maintenance of 30 in-patients, and has lately contributed 100,000 *yen* towards the foundation fund of the

Haihei-in (Asylum for Disabled Soldiers). Baron Hachiroemon Mitsui and the Mitsui families have also made contributions to the amount of one million *yen*, with which they have established a charity hospital under the direction of the Medical College of the Tōkyō Imperial University; they have besides donated an area of a few acres for the site of the Haihei-in. Among others, Denzaburō Fujita has bestowed 300,000 *yen* on the districts connected with his business enterprises, as charity and relief funds, and has entrusted the prefectural authorities with the disbursement as well as the custody of the money, so that it may most profitably be used to meet the needs of the localities concerned.

A library was built at Nakanoshima at a cost of 250,000 *yen* and presented to Osaka by Kichizaemon Sumitomo to requite, as he says, the great benefits he and his forefathers have derived from their long residence in the city; the Ohashi Library was established in Tōkyō in commemoration of the progress made by the publishing business in Japan; the Kodama Library was founded by the late General Count Kodama at Tokuyama, his native city; the Okura Commercial School was opened at Tōkyō and designed especially for poor young men, to whom it advances scholarship aid. Besides these, there are the donation of 1,000,000 *yen* by Yeinosuke Iwamoto for the purpose of building the Osaka Public Hall; the contribution of 1,000,000 *yen*

each by Mitsui, Iwasaki, and Okura at the time of the establishment of the Imperial Relief Association for the Sick and Poor ; the gift of 400,000 *yen* by Heihachirō Tada for the establishment of a charitable hospital ; and the donation of his entire property by Sōnjin Murano of Kōbe for the promotion of public welfare, of which property 1,000,000 *yen* was made into a fund for a school for poor children.

Though a little different from the above in nature, there are in various parts of our country not a few cases now-a-days, in which people have spent portions of their property in the advancement of education. The late Taijirō Kodera had in his life time made many large contributions towards public works, and when he died, willed that a portion of his property be donated to the Imperial Universities, and to some other educational and charitable enterprises ; and his heir, Kenkichi Kodera, established a middle school at Sanda, his native town, at an expense of nearly 300,000 *yen*. Toranosuke Furukawa has recently contributed above a million *yen* towards the construction of the three universities proposed to be established in Kyūshū, the Northeast and the Hokkaidō. Keiichirō Yasukawa who is engaged in the mining industry has laid out 3 million *yen* in the establishment of a higher technical school ; Sadaemon Tsukamoto, an Omi merchant of Gokashō-mura, Kanzaki district, well known for his public and philanthropic spirit, has donated no

small sum of money for the expenses necessary to the foundation of schools, the construction of embankments and the removal of sand from river beds, and the education of the lower-classes. Mrs. Itsu Midsutani of Kuwanamachi, Mie prefecture, has, in accordance with her deceased husband's will, made a large contribution towards the educational foundation of the prefecture. Such fine actions as these are by no means few in number.

Hakodate, one of the chief ports in the Hokkaidō, is also blessed with a benevolent person by the name of Kōhei Watanabe, who has contributed no small portion of his property toward the promotion of public good. During his travels in Europe and America, he was struck with great admiration at the enterprises for the public interest carried on everywhere. On his return to Japan he built a public hospital at Hakodate at a cost of 100,000 *yen*, and bestowed it on the city.

Mention must be made of the services done by some foreigners in the cause of the suffering. Having seen a

Charity hospitals established large number of lepers in our
by benevolent Christians. country, M. Testevitte, a
 French missionary, Miss H.

Riddell, an English lady, and Miss Youngman, an American missionary, have felt deep sympathy with these miserable people, and have been kind enough to establish the Fukusei Hospital at Gotemba, Suntō district, Shizuoka prefecture, the Kaishun Hospital at Kumamoto,

Kyūshū, and the Ihai-en Asylum at Meguro, Ebara district, Tōkyō-fu, respectively,—institutions which are intended to give comfort as well as medical treatment to those suffering from the disease. These Christian workers are prompted by the same motives of philanthropy and benevolence as those compatriots mentioned already.

CHAPTER XII

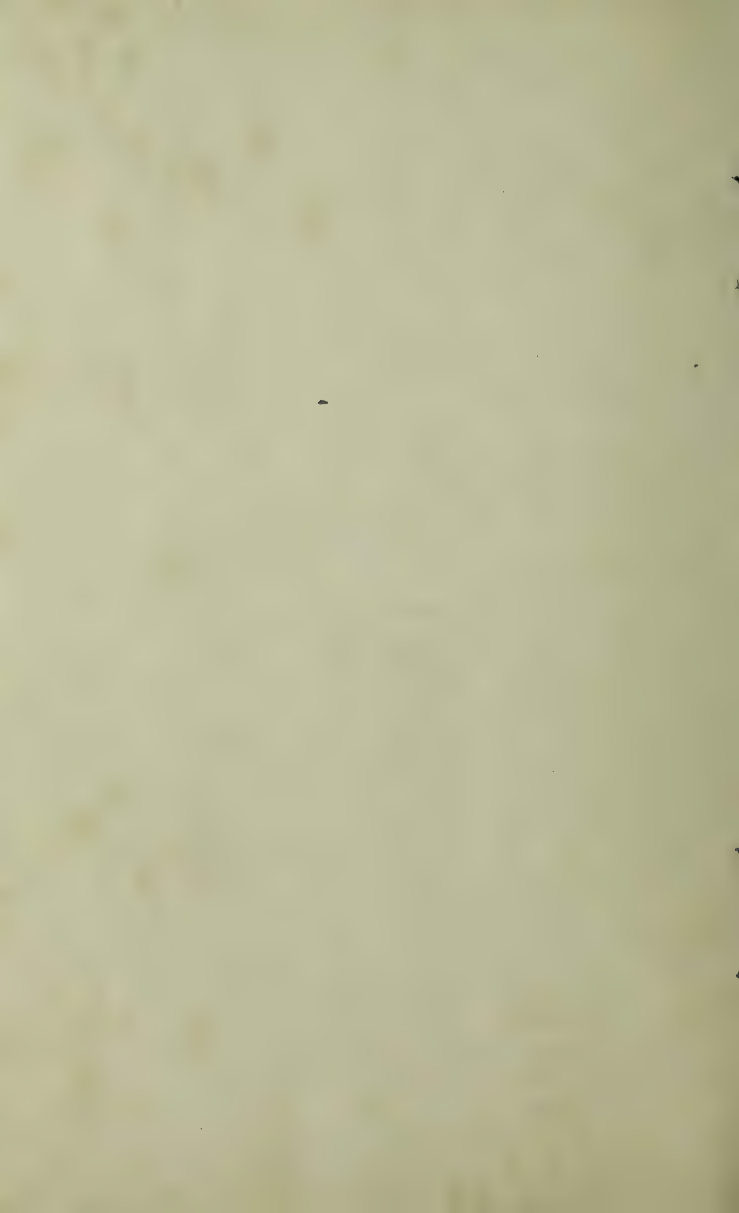
Conclusion

 HE statements so far given are no more than an epitome of charity and relief works in our country, but such as they are, they will, it is hoped, serve as straws to show which way the wind is blowing. In other words, they will, in some measure, furnish the reader with information concerning the trend of these useful enterprises and the light in which they are regarded by the Japanese.

It is essential to educate people before they are in extreme indigence, and make them pursue their respective callings with diligence and perseverance, inasmuch as it does but little good to try to relieve them when they have sunk into utter want and destitution. As the observance of the rules of hygiene rather than the receiving of medical treatment is the way to guard against disease, so would the best, and it may be the only, way to save people from poverty be to provide them with means of self-support instead of ministering thoughtlessly to their wants. Then the question naturally suggests itself: How are they to be taught to lead independent lives and to support themselves? This may be effected in a variety of ways: the chief among them being to give them medical treatment at a low cost,

when they are ill ; to find employment for them, when they are in want, thereby enabling them to earn their livelihood in a suitable manner ; to instruct and discipline them properly by sundry means, correcting their habits and improving their morality so as to lead them to the path of honor and rectitude ; to inure them to hard labour, so that they may acquire the spirit of self-support and independence :—thus the main object of charity and relief works is, after all, the cultivation of the spirit of industry and self-help among our brethren and the ennobling of their character, which is the alpha and omega of philanthropy. No fine customs or moral excellences can be expected from people unless they acquire a taste for hard labour and learn to support themselves, and when this is once realized, then and then only will relief begin to be really useful and charity cease to be a mere name. Whether this object is successfully achieved or not, depends primarily upon exertions made by the general public in its cause. It is our sincere hope, therefore, that people throughout the whole country will enter, heart and soul, into the spirit of the work, make a still further advance in it, and never rest satisfied until it has been brought to perfection.

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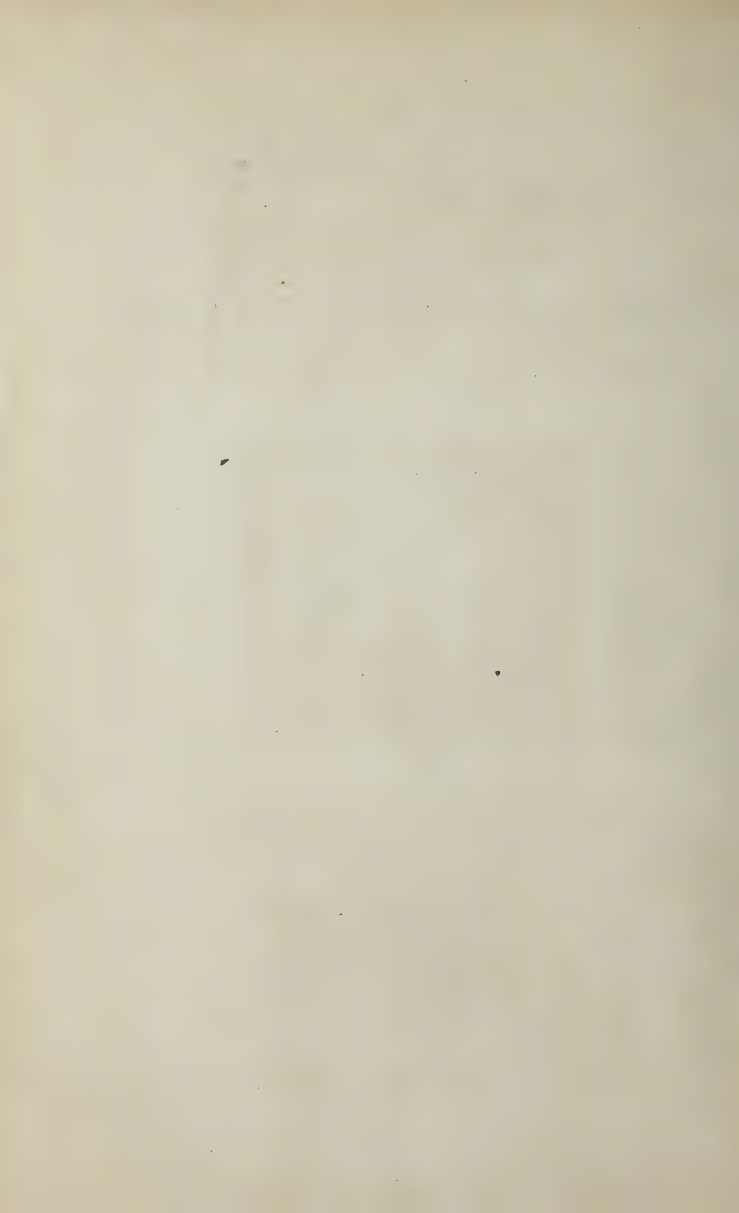
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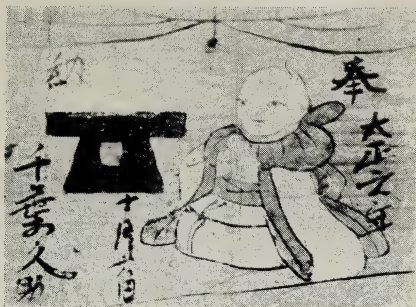
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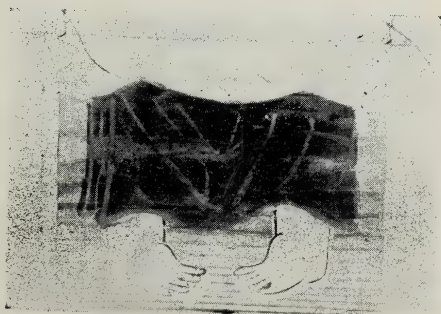




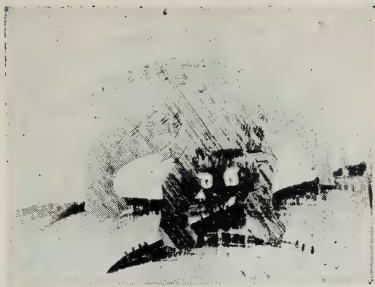
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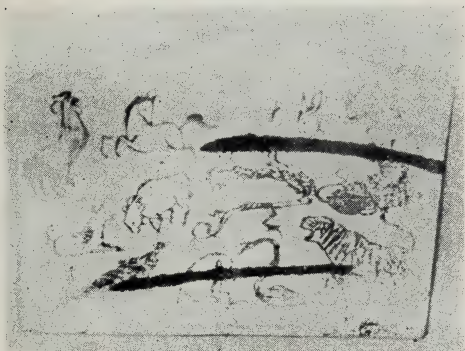
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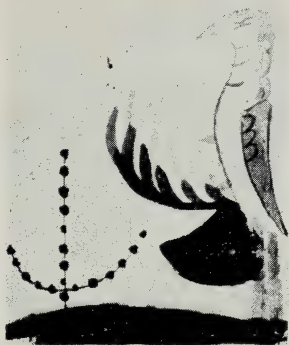
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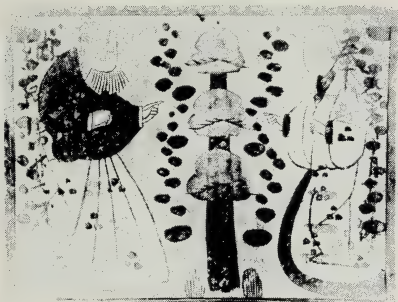
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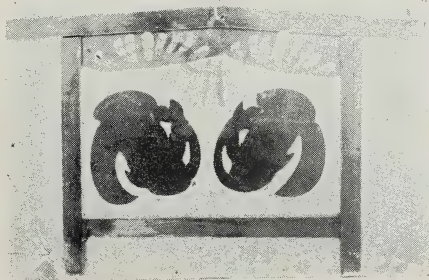
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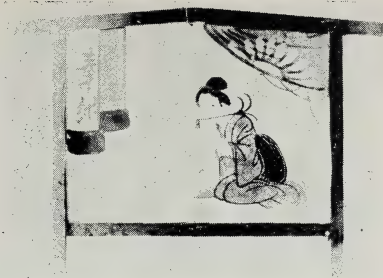
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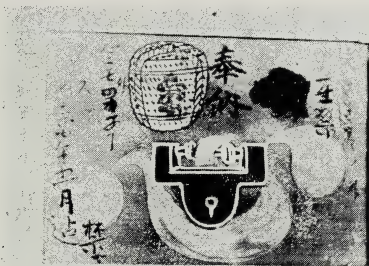
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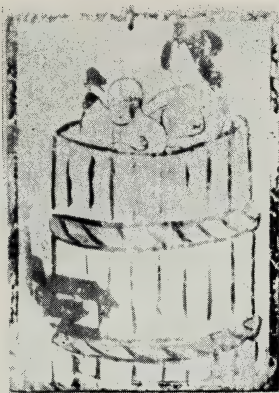
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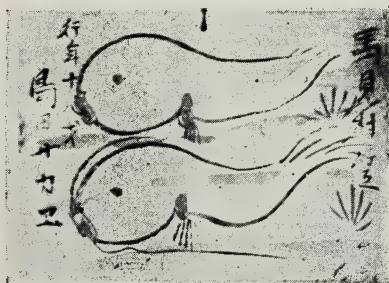
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EMA

FREDERIC STARR

Read November 26, 1919

Ema are used throughout Japan. My attention was drawn to them on the first day of my first visit to Japan in 1904. Dr. Henry Loomis, my old acquaintance, had invited me to dine with him. As we went up the Bluff at Yokohama, he called my attention to a small shrine by the roadside, where various small boards with crude designs painted on them were hung. The shrine was one to the god of medicine, Yakushi, and the painted boards were *ema* offerings given by sufferers. All were of one kind. Each bore two black designs that looked like pictures; in reality these were the character *me*, meaning eye; one of them was reversed in the writing and the two characters were so handled as to resemble and pictorially suggest a pair of eyes. These *ema* had been left by persons who had suffered from eye troubles. Such was my introduction to *ema* more than fifteen years ago. Since then I have collected such painted boards in many parts of Japan and have a collection numbering hundreds. They present some curious and interesting points for investigation. While they perhaps occur in every part of Japan their distribution is extremely variable. In some regions they are rare, while in others they are remarkably frequent.

Ema serve three more or less distinct purposes. They may be prayers, thank-offerings or protective-charms. They are often prayers. A person desiring some favor from a deity may hang an *ema* at his shrine. In such a case it may be assumed that the gift gratifies the deity and ensures his favor. The presence of many prayer *ema* at a shrine increases the popular appreciation of the god's power. Again an *ema* may

be given to the god in recognition of an answered prayer or a gratified desire. This is the commonest occurrence. The worshipper makes his petition; if it is granted, he gives the *ema*. This is in the nature of a votive offering. The stimulating psychological effect of such *ema* at a shrine is easily appreciated. A shrine where many thanks *ema* have been left is clearly that of a god ready to hear and answer prayer. Worshippers flock to the place and the accumulation of painted boards—whether prayers or thanks—increases. The third use of *ema*, as protective charms, is much less common. An example is found in a district a little to the north of Tokyo. Here, in several villages, a small *ema* with two *oni* (demons) on it is to be seen over every door. It is believed to protect the house against thieves—perhaps also from fire and misfortune. This *ema* is brought from a shrine far up in a neighboring mountain and its virtue is but for a year. With the year's end a new one is secured. At some houses five or six are nailed up over the door; their difference in age is evident from difference in weathering.

The word *ema* means a horse-picture and it is probable that the first *ema* were pictures of horses. In all districts many of them are still such. These horse-pictures have a variety of different ideas associated with them. Why should the picture of a horse have come to be thus used? Why should it have special efficacy?

The horse is a frequent symbol in Japan. It means success, or attainment of desire. We find it used in many associations. In Boshu one often sees crudely made straw horses thrown up onto the thatched roofs of country houses. In some districts there will be one or more on every roof. They are made for use in connection with the *tanabata* festival on the seventh day of the seventh month. They are thrown up in hope of luck; if they remain the thrower gets his wish. Instead of a straw horse, a piece of paper with the character for horse written upon it may be thrown up in the same way. Geisha girls often have the character for horse written on the membrane of their

samisen, to secure good fortune. Perhaps this symbolism attaches to the horse because he runs directly or swiftly to his goal. However that may be, the first *ema* were really pictures of horses and were used as indicative of a desire or its fulfillment. Later, other pictures with other meanings were used.

Where and how do we find *ema*? Almost everywhere in Japan. They occur at both temples and shrines, but there are certain temples and shrines where they are most likely to be used—as these sacred to *Yakushi*, *Kwannon*, *Inari*, *Ziso*, *Fudo*, and *Hachiman*. They are also left at small wayside shrines, at roadstones, at sacred stones and sacred trees, indicated as such by being garlanded with straw ropes hung perhaps with *gohei* strips. They are usually hung to the building, or object of respect by a string or loop, but they may often be nailed in place; they may simply be laid before the shrine, or stacked into a pile. At the little Kume-no-heinai shrine, Asakusa, they are neither hung nor nailed, but laid horizontally in a neat pile. At many shrines and temples there is a special building for *ema*, the *ema-do*. These may be quite fine structures, placed in a conspicuous part of the temple grounds; they are often at the sides and are hung within with *ema*, often large pictures, well-framed, making some art pretention. Let us look at some examples of *ema-do*:

a) *Soma* is a district famous for the raising of horses and as the place of manufacture of a well-known pottery. The name means a running horse and the potters of the district use marks with designs of running horses. The ware is relatively cheap, but has a good reputation and well-marked character. We visited one maker, who is the thirteenth generation of his house. A friend took us to the district shrine. It has an *ema-do* somewhat unusual in having only the front open, the other three sides being solidly built. It was filled with *ema* and other votive objects. Most of the *ema* literally deserved the name, being pictures of horses. They were of all grades of workmanship from small simple boards a few inches on a side with crude pictures, up to great pictures carefully painted in fine

frames. The finest was a large picture of running horses, put up about a hundred years ago by the eleventh generation of the potter family that we had visited. There was also an *ema*, somewhat similar, of large size and good workmanship, but inferior, which was the offering of the present representative of the house. Most of the *ema* here, however, were put up by breeders of horses and had reference to their business. There were also in this *ema-do* some votive objects, such as horse-collars, horse-shoes and horse-teeth. These were either attached directly to the wall or were fastened to a wooden board, like an *ema*, and hung. All had reference to horse-breeding. We often find votive objects at shrines and temples. They are not really *ema*, but in purpose, symbolism and use, they are like them. There are some of these here in the exhibit today and in this discussion they will be treated as the *ema* proper.

b) The *ema do* at Kotohira, Shikoku is interesting. The shrine is sacred to Kompira, god of travellers. The main buildings are on a level height, which is approached by a wonderful stone stairway of many hundreds of steps. The *ema-do* stands at the very edge of the level space and looks down upon a fine prospect. It is typical, being open at the four sides. It is full of *ema* and votive-objects. There are many large *ema*, most of them representing boats, scenes of sea travel, naval battles and the like; more striking, however, are wooden models of boats of various kinds. There are scores of them and many are large and carefully made. Many are dated with the year in which they were given and some of these are old. They are as good as the specimens in ethnographic museums. In fact this *ema-do* in itself is almost an ethnographic museum so far as Japanese watercraft are concerned.

c) At *Itsukushima* (Miyajima) was formerly one of the great displays of *ema* in Japan. You all know the peculiar form and arrangement of the buildings of this noble shrine. The broad, low, red and white, buildings on pile-supported platforms over the sea, are unique and striking. The three main buildings are connected by two long, low, galleries. Until lately

these were filled with *ema*. There were hundreds of them covering the walls. Many were of large size; some were by real artists, and not a few of them were actually works of art. Unfortunately—for they were a quaint and characteristic feature—they have been cleared away as rubbish and the galleries are now cleared save for some few art treasures in formal cases. So many, so varied, and so interesting were these old *ema* that a Japanese work in five volumes was devoted to their enumeration, description and illustration.

But our subject is not these large and pretentious art efforts. We shall confine our attention to the small, crude, simple paintings on boards and the votive-objects left by common people at popular places of worship. If we are to have clear ideas, we must have a classification of our material. The following is, I believe, a practical grouping :

EMA AND OTHER VOTIVE-OBJECTS

A). *Representative*

1. Offering

2. Worshippers { pictorial indicative

3. Deity { actual attribute, or messenger

B). *Symbolical*

C). *Magical* { pictorial verbal

These simple board pictures are representative, symbolical, magical. In *representative ema* the picture represents the idea of the worship act itself in some way. This may be by the representatives of the offering, the worshipper, or the deity. The offering is usually *mochi* cakes or jars of *sake*; the picture may represent either or both. The worshipper may be represented; the picture may represent a child, a man or woman, a child with a parent kneeling before the shrine. Sometimes the worshipper and offering may be represented together. The worshipper may be represented otherwise than by a direct

picture; thus the year animal of the birth-year of the worshipper may be shown—this is one of the commonest of *ema* types and at popular shrines a veritable menagerie may be displayed upon the walls. The indirect representation of the worshipper finds its limit in *ema* upon which are written such indications as “a man of the horse year,” “a woman of the year of the boar,” “a male of the snake year,” “a man thirty years old,” “a female of nineteen years.” The deity may be represented. The direct representation of a deity is uncommon, and when it occurs, it is the less important gods or gods derived from actual human beings that are represented. Buddhas are rarely, if ever, pictured; Zizo is rather frequently found; *tengu* are common; Tenjin occurs. Far more common than the representation of the deity is the picturing of some attribute or messenger of the god. Thus a fox or a pair of foxes often represents Inari; Fudo’s sword is common; a snake is often the messenger of Benten; the common *ema* at Tenjin shrines bears the picture of Sugawara Michizane’s faithful bullock. The second group, *symbolical ema*, is large and badly defined. Here the picture may suggest a general, unspecified desire. Thus, the original simple picture of a horse might give no clue to the advantage sought. Usually, however, symbolic *ema* give, through their designs, a clear suggestion of what is wanted. The symbolism may be simple and transparent; it may be deeper and not immediately evident. Most interesting however of the three groups are the *magical ema*. This group grows out of the preceding, and the two classes merge or shade into each other. It is often difficult or impossible to decide whether a given *ema* should be considered symbolical or magical. The magical *ema* may be supposed to have coercive force, compelling the desired result. As examples of such *ema* of difficult determination are those of the baby in the bath and the woman spurring milk from her breasts. These may perhaps merely symbolize the desire that the bathing child be good or that the milk may be abundant but perhaps they may compel the result. Admitting the uncertainty in these cases, it may seem to be mak-

ing a fine distinction to assert that the baby-at-the-barber *ema* is surely magical. There can be no question that in many *ema* an actual magic power to secure the result is attributed to the picture. There is however another kind of magical *ema*, where the picture does not at all represent the object desired but gives a word, which through *double-entendre* exerts a magic force. These are of all *ema* the most curious and demand the most careful examination. What is meant by a magical verbal *ema*?

In many parts of Japan a curiously twisted bit of rope is hung upon wayside stones. These stones are usually field gods of fertility. The first time one sees the twisted rope he thinks nothing of it; some child may have hung it there in play. When he has seen it a number of times, the observer sees that there must be a meaning in it and that it has always the same form. He *may* guess that it is a monkey—but, if he does not, inquiry develops the fact. Why are these rope monkeys hung upon the rice-field stones? Because the word *saru* (pronounced, not written) has two meanings. *Saru* is “monkey” it is also “away,” “keep off,” “begone.” Hung to the stone it drives away harmful influences from the fields. The three monkeys, so common at the base of stones to Koshin, god of roads, are in the same way magical, warding off harmful sights, words, sounds. At that wonderful place, Tennoji, is a monkey-shrine. Near by is a cage with three living monkeys; an attendant sells small saucers of food to mothers, who come with ailing babies. They buy the little dishes of food, touch the ailing parts of the little ones with the food and then give this to the monkeys to eat. Why? That the monkey (*saru*) may take off (*saru*) the sickness. In the actual shrine there are hundreds of offerings, evidence of cures effected. Some of them are real *ema*, boards with the three monkeys painted on them; more are clean whitewood boards, neatly frame-bordered, upon which are fastened little figures of three monkeys made of cloth. The idea in all of these cases is magical, based upon the double meaning of the word *saru*.

In the collection here exhibited most of the variations shown by *ema* are seen. They affect form, material and medium. The *ema* of Tokyo are not the *ema* of Osaka, and those of Shikoku are not like either. The board of *ema* may be as thin as a card; it may be thick and substantial. It is usually rectangular and the long dimension may be either vertical or horizontal. The board may be plain, or it may be framed with black strips. The common type at Tokyo is pentagonal, the sides and bottom being straight, while the top consists of two low slopes from a higher middle point; the board is thin, and the whole is framed with five black strips; the free ends of the top strips and the lower ends of the side-strips projecting. The common type at Nara, Kyoto and Osaka is a rather thick board, rectangular, without framing. The famous *ema* of Midzushijinja and Otejinja have a black strip at top only, which projects at the two sides. Sometimes the board, instead of having a painted design, has objects fastened upon it by wires or threads—as swords, *zori*, monkey figures, breasts, etc. The *material* of *ema* varies somewhat. While most are wood with the designs painted directly upon it, the design may be printed upon paper which is then pasted upon a wooden board or a thick card; this is the common occurrence in Shikoku and occurs in the double-eels *ema* of Mishima-shrine, Kyoto. In Tosa we find an altogether peculiar development, the pentagonal *ema* being made of paper pasted upon an exceedingly frail support of bamboo splints. A curious paper *ema* from Miharu is called *shoji-ema* by Japanese collectors. It consists of a well made light frame of wood over which a covering of paper is stretched on both sides. These peculiar *ema* were made until recently by two old men, both of whom have died since 1917; at present there is no maker of them and it is probable that the type will disappear. At one time porcelain *ema* were made, probably at Seto, Nagoya. They were of the pentagonal framed type and all that we have seen were real *ema*, with a horse-picture in blue. A dated *ema* of this kind in the possession of Mr. Koyama of Kyoto was offered in

the year Tempo 3 (1832). As to *medium*, *ema* are usually painted. Only exceptionally and locally do we find anything else. Some with lacquer designs hail from Narai in the Kiso district. This is not to say that the *ema* is of lacquer-work, but only that the design is rather crudely painted with lacquer. At Sugamo they sometimes make Inari *ema* with fox designs, chiseled out in low relief and covered with a kind of white enamel. A curious variant is found at Kinosaki, where the designs are made with brightly colored straws, flattened, and glued in place. Feeling some doubt as to these *ema* being really offered, believing that they might be mere *miyage* for sale to travellers, we made a trip to Kinosaki to determine the matter. There is no question of their actual use. Plenty of them may be seen at the Yakushi shrine, showing all degrees of fading and weathering from exposure.

While there are local peculiarities and while a few forms like the paper *ema* of Tosa, the shoji *ema* of Miharu, and the colored straw *ema* of Kinosaki are actually characteristic, it is not true that every *ema* can be certainly identified geographically. Several varieties may occur in one district. Thus, the curious little, unframed, thin rectangles of Senju occur in the same region as the pentagonal, thin, black-framed type most common at Tokyo. There are marked differences between places in the abundance of *ema*. Osaka-Kyoto-Nara mark a region of frequency; Tokyo is a centre, so is Sendai. It is no accident that the one discussion in English regarding *ema* was written by Dr. de Forest; he lived for many years at Sendai. Yet, if one goes over the old highway from Tokyo to Sendai, he passes thought a district where there are almost none. Probably the greatest abundance is around Ashikaga. Many curious types are found in that region and they are used at many shrines and temples. Two of these shrines are astonishing. Both are at Isobemura, just outside of Ashikaga. One is Midzushi-jinja, where sufferers with venereal diseases go. Before the shrine are quantities of *ema*, fresh offered; when the accumulation becomes too great, the *ema* are removed and

stacked away in two sheds, both of which are now full; these sheds are perhaps fifteen feet long, six feet wide, and seven feet high. There must be thousands of *ema* in them. Ote-jinja is almost in sight from here. The name means "great-hand" and the *ema* bears a picture of two hands. They are left by those who desire hand-skill in weaving, the great local industry. Here again we find sheds for the storing away of old *ema*, but there are four sheds, all full, and the *ema* are so closely packed that there is absolutely no space wasted.

Something should be said of the artists and art of common *ema*. Two examples will suffice. At Sugamo, Tokyo, is an *ema* painter, whom we have watched at work. His three main designs are a horse, a cock and Jizo. These are all old and conventional. He claims to paint sixty of the horse or cock in an hour. A pile of the thin clean boards lies before him. One color is used at a time and is applied to all the boards before another color is taken. The white backgrounds are first smeared; then, perhaps, the black lines are applied: then the red may be daubed in—and then the other colors. The relation of lines and parts may not be at all evident; the work is purely mechanical. When all is done, they are remarkably alike. The designs are traditional and fixed. The framing-strips are tacked on after the painting is finished. The artist claims to be the fourth generation in this kind of painting; his great grandfather painted *ema* one hundred years ago. It is probable that the horse and cock are just as they were then. The Jizo is undergoing some variation. Another interesting *ema* artist lives at Senju on the edge of Tokyo. He paints an entirely characteristic and curious series of small, thin, unframed *ema* for country people. He is the third generation in the art and claims that his designs are line for line exactly as his grandfather painted them. I believed at first that he painted all twelve of the year animals. He has however, but four designs and they have no reference to the calendric beasts. His predecessors painted a fifth, which he has abandoned. His designs are horse, ox, cock, fox.

The one that he has given up is, curiously, the monkey. The horse and ox of his series are hung near fields and places where the farmers wash vegetables; the cock is kept in the kitchen; the fox is used at rice-fields, the fox being Inari or Inari's messenger.

It would be a mistake to think that a given design may have but a single meaning; it may have various applications. Thus,—a *horse* may merely relate to a wish or desire of any kind; it may be a year animal and represent the worshipper; it may have definite relation to horse-breeding; or it may have an altogether peculiar and non-evident symbolic meaning, as in No. 37. So the *ox*, may have various meanings. It is often the year animal, representing the worshipper; it may relate to agricultural operations; it may be Tenjin's black bullock; it is sometimes verbally magical. The picture of a snake may be a year animal, a god, or the messenger of Benten—and, hence, sometimes, the bringer of lucky dreams.

Since 1904, I have been acquiring *ema*. My collection is one of the best. It represents wide travel, much pilgrimage, hard labor. How do I get my *ema*? Quite frankly—I usually simply *take* them, wherever found. But I never rob a poor shrine, meagrely served. Where the god is popular and abundantly supplied, I have no compunctions. Of course, when an attendant or priest is present, I ask for them, if it seems desirable. The mere statement that "Ofuda Hakushi" wants *ema* is usually all that is necessary. Sometimes it is suggested that we take specimens from the stack or from an inconspicuous spot, so that recent worshippers may not notice the disappearance of their offerings and be offended. There are shrines and temples, where the priest feels aggrieved if we take no *ema*, and one of my good priest friends seems unhappy if we go away without a baby in the bath. Once only, in all my experience, have I been refused. It was in Tokyo. The *ema* in question is one of the most interesting, the design being two crossed reaping-knives and a basket of cut-stuff, the whole depending on the two meanings of the word *kusa* (cf. No. 59)*

giver of this *ema* assumes a food-taboo, foregoing the eating of the *saba* fish in order to secure his desire.

5. *Iwashi-fish*: Banno-ji, Ashikaga.
given to secure, or in return for, easy birth. The food-taboo idea is here also. The woman giving this *ema* vows to refrain from eating *iwashi*.

Worshipp r :

6. *Child and Worshipper*; Ichigen-Kwannon, Nara.
This and the next are among the commonest of *ema*.
7. *Child and Mother*; Ichigen-Kwannon, Nara.
8. *Dress and feet* (female worshipper); Midzushi-jinja, near Ashikaga.
This but indirectly represents the worshipper. The design is a woman's dress and feet; this *ema* is left by women suffering from syphilis, etc.
9. *Dress and feet* (female worshipper); Midzushi-jinja.
10. *Snake* (year symbol); Ichinomiya-mura, Tosa.
This is one of the paper *ema* of Tosa mentioned in the paper. On them the twelve calendric animals occur, singly or together. Usually in using these *ema* with year animals the worshipper selects one bearing a picture of the animal of his birth-year. The one that bears all twelve animals (No. 15) would answer for any person. *Ema* of the calendric animals are common and those from some towns deserve especial mention. This Tosa set is famous; so is the series from the Inari, near Ejiri. The latter is crudely painted, with traditional designs on thin, unframed, boards.
11. *Snake* (year symbol); Sendai.
12. *Horse* (year symbol); Kinosaki.
13. *Tiger* ("); " "

These two are colored-straw designs. No *ema* call for more labor in the making or are more striking in appearance. Not only is the workmanship on the

design good, the support and the frames are carefully made of clean wood.

14. *Dog* (year symbol); Ichinomiya-mura, Tosa.

15. *Twelve calendric animals*; " "

Deity:

16. *Jizo*; Sugamo, Tokyo.

This *ema* has always been of rather large size and on thick board at this painter's. It has however become somewhat more elaborately painted, recently. The more common *Jizo ema* around Tokyo are on thinner board.

17. *Tengu*; Tenno-jinja, near Ashikaga.

These are, of course, usually used only at mountain shrines.

18. *Inari fox*; Sugamo, Tokyo.

An example of the highest "development" of *ema*. This maker, whose old traditional forms (Nos. 20. 23) are typical and characteristic, here runs to extraordinary fancies. Form, material, design, technique are all unusual. Leaping foxes, with jewels and *torii* are elements in the designs, but they are variously combined and postured. The relief of the figures, produced by chiselling, and their coloring with paint or enamel are exceptional.

19. *Ox*; Sakura Tenjin, Nagoya.

A new idea in *ema*. The use of Sugawara Michizane's bullock as an *ema* design for Tenjin shrines is common enough. This *ema* varies from the ordinary (a) in that it is sold directly from and by the shrine; and (b) in that it is authenticated by being branded with the shrine mark. Its sale has aided in developing a special fund for the erection of a curious monument. Though recently devised, this *ema* is popular and frequently offered.

20. *Fowl*; Sugamo, Tokyo.

21. *Crab*; Komatsu-jima, Shikoku.

Here the design is printed on paper and pasted on to a board. This method is common in Shikoku and rather unusual elsewhere. The crab is said to here be the messenger of the god.

B. SYMBOLICAL.

22. *Hawk*; Miharu.

The famous "*shoji-ema*" of Miharu. The two old painters had a special style, which was shown in only five or six designs, of which this hawk(?) was the most peculiar. Its meaning is not clear.

23. *Horse*; Sugamo, Tokyo.

Typical, as is the same painter's cock (No. 20). Traditional in design and execution. Probably neither is intended as a year animal; No. 20 is probably a messenger or attribute of the deity, while this is merely the symbol of a wish or desire.

24. *Old Man and Woman*; Horiuji.

The famous couple of the Takasago pine tree; symbolical of a happy and long-continued married life.

25. *Samurai*; Kume-no-heinai shrine, Asakusa.

This is the only *ema* that is left at this popular little Tokyo shrine; Kume-no-hinai was a samurai of qualities; the *ema* is left by girls desiring a good betrothal.

26. *Ox*; Senju, Tokyo.

27. *Fowls*; Senju, Tokyo.

Two of the traditional types particularly mentioned in the paper. That all four (five) of these designs represent calendric animal is fortuitous, as they are certainly symbolical (or magical) and not representative of the worshipper.

28. *Hands*; Ote-jinja, Isobe-mura, near Ashikaga.

This is the *ema* of which four sheds-full are stored

away. It is given to secure skill and strength of the hand in weaving.

29. *Wooden hand*; Ote-jinja, Isobemura.
Votive object, not an *ema*. Left at the shrine in connection with desire for skill or for cure.
30. *Eyes (me)*; Yakushi-do, Ikegami.
This is one of the commonest and least-varied of *ema*. It is offered, chiefly at Yakushi shrines for eye-troubles. The *ema* that first attracted my attention. It is also common at Hachiman shrines. At Hachiman shrines also one finds frequently curious writings of the character *me* (eye) either in simple lines like ordinary writing or in arranged forms or combinations, such as *ter.i*. Also *teri* of tin, iron, or wood, may be offered, which are covered with the character written many times.
31. *Wooden drills*; Minenoyakushi, Horiuji.
Votive object, not an *ema*. Such drills are found at many shrines. They may be given singly or in groups of ten, as here. They relate to deafness. One desiring cure, takes one home that has been offered at a shrine; he prays and makes an offering; if a cure results, ten tied together are returned with or in place of the one borrowed. Hundreds of such drills may be seen at some shrines. The symbolism is evident and needs no explanation.
32. *Wooden legs*; Takakura, Kyoto.
Votive object, not an *ema*. Offered with reference to leg troubles, as *kakke*, rheumatism, etc.
33. *Teeth gripping iron anchor*; Senju, Tokyo.
Offered in connection with toothache in hope of strength, firmness and health of the teeth. The shrine is a wee structure by the roadside, but is usually well supplied with this *ema*.
34. *Nails*; Kugi-nuki Jizo, Kyoto.
Kugi-nuki Jizo extracts splinters, thorns, nails, tacks,

etc. from sufferers.

35. *Tin zori* ; Ashi-jinja, Ki.

Zori attached to a board, *ema*-fashion, as here or separate, are offered to the *Niō* at many temples, also to Idaten (god of swiftness) and to Hachiman. They are of tin, iron, or fibre and of all sizes from miniatures to giants. They are related to endurance and strength in walking, running, and the like.

36. *Fudo Swords* ; Sendai.

Here we have a true *ema*, with two Fudo swords painted on board. Common also are *ema* boards with one or two small swords attached to them by wires. Separate swords of all sizes are also often left as votive objects, at Fudo shrines. In all these cases, it is usually one of two ideas that is present—either firmness in resolve and resistance or force in removal and excision is desired.

37. *Horse led by monkey* ; Susaki-jinja, Nagoya.

A most curious design. It refers to a well-known Chinese saying—"desire of horse, heart of monkey." The two animals are considered the embodiment of lust. The *ema* was probably offered by some young man, who desired strength to resist the temptations of the flesh.

38. *Gambling implements* ; Fudo, Fukagawa, Tokyo.

This Fudo temple is a favorite with gamblers who wish to abandon the vice. The firmness and immovability of Fudo are the basis of their preference.

39. *Lock, heart and sake-tub* ; Ikomayama.

The presence of a heart (either as picture or character) with a lock indicates the locking of the heart against whatever vice may be suggested by the other elements of the design—as cards, dice, drink, etc. This *ema* was probably offered by a woman, in behalf of another person, whose identity was veiled by the use of Roman letters in the indicative in-

scription.

40. *Honda's grave*; Ishin-ji, Osaka.

The monument here represented marks the grave of a man who tarnished a character notable for bravery and prowess by his proneness to drink. Rebuked and taunted by his father, he committed *harakiri*. His grave is visited by drunkards who are desirous of reformation. The many *ema* here are usually left, however, by parents, wives, or friends on behalf of the victims.

41. *Chessman* (" *kosha* "); Nikko.

Votive object, not a true *ema*. This gigantic chessman copies the piece which, in actual play has a straight move forward any number of open squares; it can neither swerve nor retreat. These are offered by women who desire easy child-birth. The idea is—may the little one go straight forward like this piece in chess.

42. *Eels in union*; Mishima-jinja, Kyoto.

To secure a happy and prosperous married life, abundant children, and easy child-birth. A famous shrine, well patronized. The enormous number of eggs laid by a single female eel is a well-known fact.

43. *Inscribed rounded pebbles*; Ichite-ji, Dogo, Shikoku.

Votive object, not a true *ema*. These pebbles are left by women who desire easy-birth. The symbolism is analogous to that of No. 41.

44. *Cucumber*; near Tokyo.

The *kappa* is a water monster, with some of the features of a turtle and some of a man; he is an expert swimmer and delights in seizing boys who are swimming in the river and dragging them down to devour them; he is however fond of cucumbers and is of divided counsel in their presence. Boys therefore mark their names on cucumbers and throw them into the water as substitute offerings for them-

selves. This *ema* might be given at the end of a season in recognition of an escape from *kappa*, through this subterfuge.

45. *Deer*; Kasuga shrine, Nagoya.

An extremely modern *ema*, probably due to the success of No. 19. Like that one, this is sold at the shrine and is branded with the shrine-mark; it is also similar to it in general style and workmanship. Whether it is meeting with success I cannot say, as it was presented to me and I have not seen the shrine. Numbers 18, 19 [and 45 have special interest as showing the latest development of the *ema* idea.

C. MAGICAL

Pictorial:

46. *Woman spurring milk*; Hotei-jinsha, Tenno-ji.

It seems to me reasonable to hold that there is more than mere symbolism in this *ema* and the next seven numbers. The pictures not only symbolize the thing desired, they are probably themselves conceived to have coercive force. The milk of this mother *must* be abundant because the picture so represents it, the baby in the bath and the boy at the barbershop *must* be good because they are so in the picture. No student of magic would consider proof of the claim necessary.

47. *Baby in bath*; Ichigen-Kwannon, Nara.

48. *Boy and barber*; Kurodani, Kyoto.

49. " " "

50. *Separating couple*; Enkiri-Inari, near Ashikaga.

This Inari aids in separation. The commonest demand made at the shrine is for separation of unhappy couples. Two types of the *ema* occur,—with the couple standing, or seated—but in both they look

scornfully away from each other. This shrine is also visited with other separation ideas in view—as of insect pests and fruit, or disease parasites and silk worms. Occasionally *ema* are left for these two purposes.

51. *Separating couple* ; Enkiri-Inari, near Ashikaga.

52. „ and *enoki* ; Itabashi, Tokyo.

A famous tree near Tokyo, “the separation *enoki*,” is much visited. It is in decay and the mere shell of the lower trunk remains. This is garlanded with the straw rope hung with *gohei* strips. The *ema* here are much like the preceding but have a representation of the tree.

53. *Separating couple* ; near Tokyo.

The idea is the same as that of the last three *ema*, but there is a touch of pathos that an aged couple like the famous pair of the Takasago pinetree should “agree to disagree.”

Verbal :

54. *Three monkeys (saru)* ; Tenno-ji, Osaka.

With this we come to the *ema* with magical power through a verbal-play. The double-meaning of *saru* —“monkey” and “away” has been sufficiently explained.

55. *Cuttlefish (ebo)* : Yakushi, Meguro.

The cuttlefish is a common *ema* at Yakushi shrines, The form of the creature is also often made of cloth and hung at these shrines. They are offered for the cure of warts and such growths. The wordplay here is not actually on the name of the cuttlefish. *Ebo* is at once the name of wart and the suckers on the cuttlefish arms.

56. *Lamprey eel (yatsume)* ; Atago shrine, Sendai.

The lamprey, with a line of eight pores on each side back of the head is called *yatsume*, “eight eyes.” The *ema* is given for strength and cure of eyes.

57. *Sixteen eyes (yame)*; Yakushi, Ashikaga.
Eight eyes give *yame* (sixteen would double the idea as there are a pair of eyes); *yame* is also an eye-disease. The *ema* is given for its cure.
58. *Ska'e, or ray*; Hirota jinja, Osaka.
For the cure of piles. It is apparently a great success as there is a great heap of the *ema* at the shrine. There may be a word-play here; *akai*—"skate" and "red" (the inflamed condition?).
59. *Ox (kusa)*; Tenno-ji, Osaka.
The ox is here conceived as eating grass or herbage (= *kusa*); a certain disease of the skin is *kusa*. The *ema* relates to the cure of this disease. The idea is that the disease may be eaten away or disappear, as the herbage disappears before the grazing ox.
60. *Catfish (namazu)*; Mine no yakushi, Horiuji.
The word *namazu* is the name of the catfish and of a skin disease. The *ema* is given in reference to the cure of the disease.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS OF EMA

Note: The numbers in parentheses refer to the preceding catalogue.

REPRESENTATIVE

1. Mochi cakes and worshipper. Tochigi. (No. 3).
2. Mother and child, worshipping. Inogen Kwannon, Nara. (No. 7).
3. (Female worshipper); dress and feet. Mizushi-jinja, Ashikaga. (No. 8).
4. (Worshipper: year animal); tiger. In straw. Yakushi, Kinosaki.
(No. 13).
5. (" "); twelve animals. Ichinomiya-mura,
Tosa. (No. 14).
6. (" "); dog. Ichinomiya-mura, Tosa. (No. 15).
7. Deity; Jizo. Sugamo, Tokyo. (No. 16).
8. Deity; Inari (fox messenger). Sugamo, Tokyo. (No. 18).

SYMBOLICAL

9. Hawk. Paper ema ("shoji ema"). Miharū. (No. 22).
10. Old man and old woman. Mine-no-Yakushi, Horiuji. (No. 24).
11. Ox. Senju, Tokyo. (No. 26).
12. Cock. Senju, Tokyo. (No. 27).
13. Hands. Ōte-jinja, Isobemura, near Ashikaga. (No. 28).
14. Eyes: *me* character. Ikegami, near Tokyo. (No. 30).
15. Teeth-anchor. Senju, Tokyo. (No. 33).
16. Lock-heart-*sake*. Ikomayama. (No. 39).
17. Honda's grave. Ishin-ji, Asaka. (No. 40).
18. Eels in union. Mishima-jinja, Kyoto. (No. 42).

MAGICAL-PICTORIAL

19. Milk supply. Hotei-jinja, Tenno-ji, Osaka. (No. 46).
20. Baby in bath. Ichigen Kwannon, Nara. (No. 47).
21. Boy at barber-shop. Kurodani, Kyoto. (No. 48).
22. Couple separating; *enoki*. Itabashi, Tokyo. (No. 52).

MAGICAL-VERBAL

23. Skate; play on *aki*. Hirota-jinja, Asaka. (No. 58).
24. Ox; play on *kusa*. Tenno-ji, Asaka. (No. 59).
25. Catfish; play on *namazu*. Mine-no-Yakushi, Horiuji. (No. 60).



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**On the proposed Identification, by the late Rev. Arthur
Lloyd, of the term Abraxas with the Japanese
Buddhist expression for the Five
Elements,—a-ba-ra-ka-kia**

By JAMES TROUP,

formerly H.B.M.'s Consul General at Yokohama.

At the International Congress for the History of Religions, held at Oxford in 1908, referring to the late Shingon and Tendai Sects of Buddhism, Mr. Lloyd stated :—" The connection between these sects and Alexandria is shown by the use of the word Abraxas, of which I have recently found three instances in Japanese literature." Again, in a lecture delivered before the Asiatic Society of Japan, Mr. Lloyd stated :—" A short time ago, while preparing a paper on the case of the dead in Japan for Hastings' Encyclopedia, my attention was first directed to the analogies to be found between the Japanese Shingon and the Gnosticism of Egypt during the first and second centuries, A. D. It is not my intention to delay you with this. I will merely call your attention to the fact, mentioned elsewhere, of the use of the two remarkable words, Abraxas and Caulacau, in modern Japanese Buddhism, on the one hand, and in the early Gnosticism of men like Basilides and Nicholas of Antioch, on the other, which shows us that the contact between certain forms of Christianity and parts of what is now included under the head of Japanese Mahayana must have been very early indeed."

Again, in a note to another lecture delivered before the Society, (Transactions, Vol. 35, p. 208, note 2, ad fin.) Mr. Lloyd says :—" Abarakakion is the Abraxas of the Egyptian Gnostics, e.g. Basilides." Again, in another lecture, reported

in the same Volume, at p. 242, Mr. Lloyd says: "We have found traces of the doctrines of Basilides in the peculiar God of the secret Shingon,—Abarakakusu,—and we know that there must have been a good deal of interchange of thought between India and Egypt."

At one of the meetings in Japan Mr. Lloyd has been reported as saying that it was his intention to deposit in the library of the Society, for further examination, the Japanese books on which he relied as containing the word Abraxas. This, unfortunately, he appears not to have been able to do before his death. I have referred to the Librarian, at the time, of the Society, Mr. Sweet, on this subject; and he has informed me that he could find no trace of the books which Mr. Lloyd intended to put in the Society's Library, but he was aware of Mr. Lloyd's intention regarding this. I have made further inquiries as to the existence of the volumes among the books which Mr. Lloyd left, but regret that this had not resulted in the discovery of the volumes or of their titles.

There can, however, be no doubt as to the identity of the Japanese term which he took to represent the word Abraxas. On this point reference may first be made again to the Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, Vol. 35, p. 208, note 2, ad fin., where Mr. Lloyd says:—"Abarakaki-un is the Abraxas of the Egyptian Gnostics," etc. Giving this formula also in the body of this note, he refers to the Tsuzoku Bukkyo Gi-mon Kai-to Shu. Vol. I., p. 504, etc. as containing the dharani, a-ba-ra-ka-ki-un.

On a reference to this passage in a copy of this book now in my possession, I find that, from the page referred to onwards, the author discourses on the subject of the Five Gross Elements,—"go-dai,—which when a sixth is added, are termed "roku-dai",—the six gross elements. At page 509 he gives, in parallel lines, a comparative view of the series, thus:—In the first line the names of these elements, in the ordinary Chinese characters, earth, water, fire, air, (space, the void); and, for the sixth, (consciousness, spirit).

In the second line he gives, in Chinese characters used phonetically, or, what is known as Chinese-Sanscrit, the Sanscrit names of the elements. To these phonetic Chinese characters he adds Japanese kana letters alongside, reading a-ba-ra-ka-kiya-un, the Japanese Sanscrit pronunciation of the same. This corresponds to the series of six as above given by Mr. Lloyd. In one of the other parallel lines of the page the author enumerates the geometrical forms of the elements,—the cube, sphere, triangle, half-moon (or crescent), and the form for the apex,—as we are accustomed to see them in the sotoba, or elemental stupa.

In Mr. Lloyd's book, "The Creed of Half Japan," he reiterates, in several passages, the statement that the terms Abraxas and Caulacau (or Caulaucu) are to be found in Japanese Buddhism. At page 38, in a note, he refers to the book *Tsuzoku Bukkyo Gi-mon Kai-to Shu*, which has just been noticed above, as a source on which he has relied for this statement. What has just been said, in our reference made to this book, covers the essential points on which remark seems to be called for; but I would suggest that the "six hieroglyphics" "of Egyptian origin," mentioned in the note are the Brahmi letters with which the Sanscrit terms for the elements are written in Japan.

It is quite clear from this that the series a-ba-ra-ka-kia, with "un", refers to the elements; and there will be many instances of the occurrence of the formula in Japanese Buddhist literature.

Again, on a reference to Hastings' *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. IV, containing Mr. Lloyd's article on the Disposal of the Dead in Japan, we find, at page 489:—"The Sotoba carried in the procession has inscribed on it the Sanscrit characters kha-la-ka-va-a, representing the Five Skandas,—as an alternative, the Five Elements which compose the Universe. In the Shingon we have the pair of formulae, a-ba-ra-ka-kia and kha-la-ka-va-a,—in Irenaeus the Gnostic term Abraxas and Caulacau.

And at p. 490 of the Encyclopedia, under Ceremonies of the Shingon, in note 4, referring to "Invocation of the Universe and Atoms," Mr. Lloyd says:—Here the dharani refers to the Five Exterior Elements; it is, Omabira-un-ken,—earth, water, fire, wind, void. This name appears often as am-bam-ram-ka-kan, and as a-ba-raka-kia. It is almost certainly the Gnostic Abraxas,—a conclusion in which we are strengthened by the fact that the Gnostic Gaulacau also seems to appear Gnostic Caulacau."

As regards the above passage where Mr. Lloyd states that "Irenaeus says that Caulacau—Mundus, (cf. vol. II, p. 428, note)"—I am unable to identify this reference unless it be to Irenaeus Contr. Haer. Book I, cap. XXIV, section 5, ad fin. (Edn. Ad. Stieren, Leipsic, 1853, Tm. I, p. 246.) There the text, speaking of the Basilidians, is: *Nomina quoque quaedam affigentes quasi angelorum, annuntiant hos quidem esse in primo coelo, hos autem in secundo; et deinceps nituntur cccxv ementitorum coelorum et nomina et principia et angelos et virtutes exponere. Quemadmodum et mundus nomen esse, in quo dicunt descendisse et ascendisse salvatorem esse Caulacau.*" Reference should be made to the note (5) of the edition of the text, where he points out that the portion of the extract which refers to Caulacau was held by Grabius, the earlier editor, to be certainly mutilated or corrupt. The note is too long to be quoted in extenso, but the following may be gathered from it:—that Grabius says Theodoret took the text to imply that the name Caulacau was the name given to the Saviour,—that Epiphonius, speaking of the Nicolaitans, said that they applied it to one of the Archons—(see Migne, Patrologia Graeca, Tom. 41, p. 323, Epiphanius adv. Haeres. xxv. 3); but that, notwithstanding the corruptness of the text, the meaning of Irenaeus may be conjectured to have been that the Basilidians applied the name Caulacau,—meaning "line upon line, (an expression founded on Isaiah xxviii, 10,)—not to the Saviour, but to the world, as the world seemed to them a double line, in which the Saviour descended and ascended.

Thus far Gräbius Neander's view is that the world here indicated may naturally be taken to refer to the world from which the Saviour descended and into which he ascended the highest of all lines or ranks of the spiritual world. There would appear to be no ground, in any case, for taking this passage to mean that the term *Caulacau* bore the signification, or was the equivalent of the word *Mundus*, meaning the physical world of the elements.

Again, at page 492 of Hastings' Encyclopedia, note 3, we find a statement similar to what has been quoted above from the Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, namely:—"The fivefold scale of Elements is represented by a-ba-ra-ka-kia. When a sixth element, (*alaya*, consciousness) is added, the word becomes a ba-ra-ka-kia-un".

Thus again the word which Mr. Lloyd takes to be the term *Abraxas* is a-ba-ra-ka-kia, the Japanese pronunciation of the Sanscrit series a-va-ra-ha-kha,—the five elements, the components of the universe. In this series a means earth, va water, ra fire, ha air, and kha space, or the void. (These terms are detailed, with the Brahmi letters expressing them, in an article by the present writer, on the Japanese *sotoba*, or elemental stupa, which appears in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, for October 1919).

The series which Mr. Lloyd takes to represent the term *Caulacau* would appear to be nothing more than the same series as that which he takes to be *Abraxas*,—but read in the inverse order. Here he adopts, mostly, the Sanscrit form of the series, which, as written in the romanized form usually employed, is:—kha-ha-ra-va-a. He, however, takes the Japanese ka in place of ha, substitutes for ra the syllable (in Sanscrit the letter) la, inverts the order of the syllables ka and la thus obtained, and so arrives at the series:—kha-la-ka-va-a, which he identifies with *Caulacau*. The writing of ka for ha in the series, and the inversion of the order, are arbitrary and irregular. The substitution of la for ra is inadmissible; they are different letters and not interchangeable. In a note at page 63 of the Creed of

Half Japan, Mr. Lloyd defends this substitution on the ground that Japanese has no "l" sound, and "kha-la-ka-ba (sic) a" is always written in Sanscrit letters. We are dealing here, however, with the terms for the Five Elements, and the Third Element (fire) is, in Sanscrit "ra" and not "la".

This series, he states, represents the Five Skandas,—“the Five Forms of Mundane Consciousness, and, as an alternative, the Five Elements.” (This alternative in the interpretation of a series representing the five elements will be elucidated by a reference to Monier Williams' Sanscrit Dictionary, sub voc. Skandia, Vishaya, Guno.)

But that the series a-va-ra-ha-kha,—Japanese, a-ba-ra-ka-kia, and the cognate terms mentioned above, should represent the word Abraxas, and be derived from it, as would seem to be the intention of Mr. Lloyd,—if I am not doing him an injustice,—is quite unnecessary to suppose. Nay more, the identification of the term a-ba-ra-ka-kia with the Indian designation of the five elements is beyond room for doubt, and any derivation of it from another word,—one identified with another system and bearing a totally different meaning,—like Abraxas,—is in this way not merely unnecessary, it is inadmissible.

The word Abraxas is formed of seven letters, a-b-r-a-x-a-s which in the Greek arithmetical notation together make up the number 365. In the Gnostic system, particularly that of Basilides, the number of Heavens was reckoned at 365,—whence the whole series was called Abraxas, or (at later dates) Abrasax, which has the same numerical value. The name was applied according to Hippolytus, to the Great Ruler (Archon) of these 365 Heavens. In his *Refutatio-Omnium* Lib. VII, c.26, he says that there existed (in his time) among the Basilidians, a treatise in which “they allege that there are 365 Heavens, and that the Great Archon of these is (called) Abrasax, from the fact that his name comprises the computed number (psypho-calculus) 365; so that, of course, the calculation of the title includes all things, and for this reason the year consists of so many days.”

(The English is from Macmahon's translation in the Ante-Nicene Christian Library in Translation, cap. 14.)

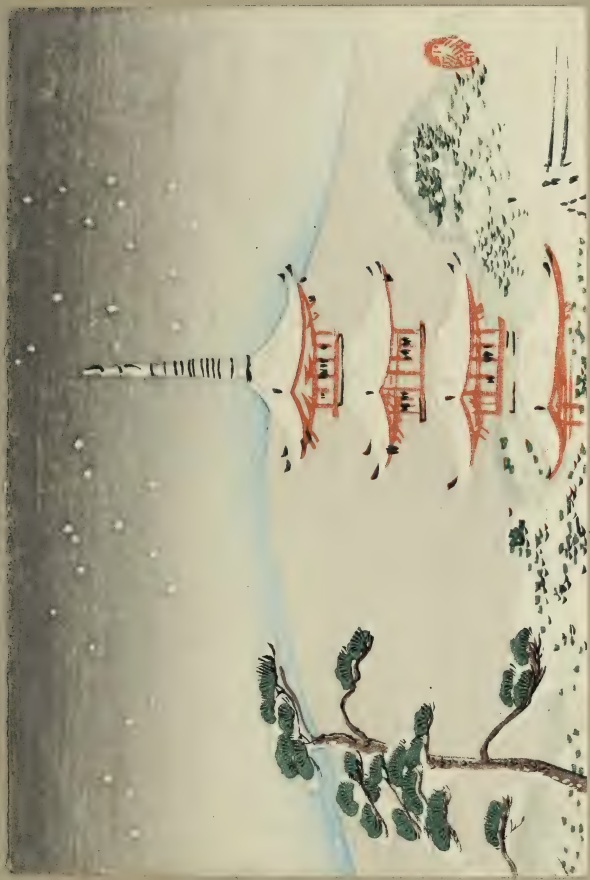
Various attempts to explain the term Abraxas-Abrasax have been made; but the connection between the word, as expressing the number 365, and the number of days in the year, seems beyond doubt (see Mansel, *Gnostic Heresies*, pp. 152-3). If we just invert the reasoning in the passage quoted above from Hippolytus, and say that, because the year consists of 365 days, therefore the number of Heavens came to be reckoned at 365, and the comprehensive name Abraxas,—being an articulate word expressing the number 365 thus, came to be applied to the Great Ruler of these Heavens, we have, probably, an indication of the process by which this name came to be evolved.

Further Abraxas is identified with the Sun-God.

The word has no reference to the five elements; any resemblance in sound between it and the series a-ba-ra-ka-kia is purely fortuitous.

The subject of the connections between Buddhism and the religions of Western Asia is a highly interesting but still an obscure one, and has to be approached with due critical caution.

Note:—An exposition of the subject of the terms for the elements, discussed in this paper, will be found in the *Dictionary of Buddhism*, recently published in Tokyo, the *Bukkyo Dai-ji-ten*, compiled by Oda Tokuno, and revised by Nanjio, Takakusu, and others.



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PREFACE.

Although the Gyokusenji Temple at Kakizaki, Shimoda, Idzu, is but an obscure Buddhist temple in a remote quarter, yet it is famous as a site where Mr. Townsend Harris established the first Consulate-General of America in Japan. Mr. Harris is a great benefactor of Japan in opening the country to foreign intercourse, and to him we owe in no small measure the friendly relations that have always existed between Japan and America. But to my deep regret, nothing has yet been done adequately to signalize this historic spot and perpetuate the memory of his remarkable record. This feeling of mine was shared by the late Mr. Edgar A. Bancroft, former American Ambassador, who, after a conference with a friend of his, Mr. Henry M. Wolf, entrusted to me the work of erecting a monument in honor of his great predecessor.

As for the Gyokusenji Temple, the edifice which had been considerably dilapidated during the sixty odd years since it ceased to house the Consulate-General of America, was all but ruined by the great earthquake of 1923. A thorough repair being urgently needed, the priest in charge, the leading parishoners, the town and village mayors of the district, and other local notables formed a plan for raising the necessary funds by public subscriptions. As they approached me for help, I took it up with Prince

Tokugawa, President of the America-Japan Society, and through the ready support of the members of that organization, the needed financial assistance was secured, enabling the restoration of the temple building to its original condition.

In the meanwhile the execution of the plan for erecting the monument was delayed for a short time on account of the sad death of Ambassador Bancroft. The result was that henceforth it was my privilege to shoulder the whole responsibility for carrying out the work as originally planned, and I feel sincerely happy that it has been completed to my entire satisfaction. I can not help feeling that the renovated temple, which once sheltered the Consulate-General of America, and the monument just erected, will not only constitute standing witnesses to the origin and history of friendship between Japan and America, but will also be a powerful inspiration for mutual cordiality to the present and future generations of the two nations. I have, therefore, thought it proper, on this auspicious occasion of rededicating the temple and unveiling the monument, to present the esteemed guests of the day with this pamphlet giving a record of Mr. Harris' work in Japan, and to take this opportunity of tendering to his spirit in heaven the sentiment of grateful reverence which I always feel for him.

Viscount EIICHI SHIBUSAWA.

October 1, 1927.

INSCRIPTION ON THE FRONT FACE OF THE MONUMENT.

In Memory of

TOWNSEND HARRIS

American Consul-General

who by the Treaty of Yedo July 29 1858 opened Japan to the world and on this spot September 4 1856 raised the first consular flag in this empire and here resided until November 23 1857.*

Erected by

Viscount E. SHIBUSAWA

EDGAR A. BANCROFT

(Late American Ambassador to Japan)

and

HENRY M. WOLF, of Chicago.

September 4 1927

Paragraph from
the Consul's Diary :

"Thursday September 4 1856. Slept very little from excitement and mosquitoes ; the latter are enormous in size. Men on shore to put up my flag staff. Heavy lot. Slow work. Spar falls, breaks cross-trees, fortunately no one hurt. At last get a reinforcement from the ship, flag staff erected. Men form a ring round it, and half past two P. M. of this day I hoist the first consular flag ever seen in this empire. Grave reflections. Ominous of change. Undoubted beginning of the end. Query,—if for real good of Japan? "

* He left Shimoda finally on June 30 1859.

TRANSLATION OF THE INSCRIPTION IN JAPANESE ON THE BACK OF THE MONUMENT.

Townsend Harris, the first Consul-General of the United States of America to reside in Japan, arrived at Shimoda, Idzu, in August 1856. In those days, our people of all classes were poorly informed about the world's affairs, and most of them took it for granted that all foreign Powers were insatiably greedy and aggressive. Nothing daunted by this unfavorable atmosphere, he spared no pains to point out to our authorities the advantage of starting commercial connection with foreign nations, and explained to them the established usages and conventions of international intercourse. His painstaking efforts at enlightening the minds of the officials of the Shogunate, were finally crowned with success in concluding a commercial treaty between Japan and America. This formed a model for the treaties which the Shogunate subsequently negotiated with other Powers. As a matter of fact, however, there were not wanting among our countrymen people who entertained toward Mr. Harris a deep feeling of indignation, because they thought that the treaty which he had succeeded in arranging was won by intrigue and chicanery on his part.

In the meantime, Mr. Harris was promoted to the post of Minister Plenipotentiary and his official residence was moved to Edo. The Shogunate was then increasingly involved in difficulties, domestic as well as foreign. To add to its troubles, the Representatives of the Powers, generally lacking proper understanding of Japan and of things Japanese, not infrequently acted in an arbitrary

and arrogant manner, thereby aggravating the public agitation against the Government. But so far as Mr. Harris was concerned, he always conducted himself fairly and squarely, constantly showing his sympathy to Japan. His honorable attitude was most strikingly demonstrated in connectin with the death of Mr. Henry C. J. Heusken, his official interpreter, who was assassinated in January 1861 by rowdies on the bank of the Furukawa in Azabu. All the foreign Ministers, with one exception, were highly wrought up by the incident, and blaming the Shogunate for its incompetency to protect them, they closed their legations at Edo and withdrew to Kanagawa. But the American Minister who happened to be the one most intimately concerned, did not approve the step taken by his colleagues of the other Powers. He refused to stir from his official quarters at the Zempukuji Temple, but calmly attended to his duties as usual as if wholly unconcerned about his own safety. The courageous and magnanimous attitude taken by Mr. Harris on this critical occasion made a strong appeal to the imagination of our people, who were now convinced of the genuineness of his sentiment toward them, and who from that moment began to put trust in America as a true friend of Japan. Japan and America owe a heavy debt of gratitude to Mr. Harris whose noble personality thus initiated the relationship of mutual friendship which has happily united the two nations during these seventy years.

For this reason I had a conference sometime ago with the late Mr. Edgar A. Bancroft, the then American Ambassador to Japan, and his friend Mr. Henry M. Wolf of Chicago, who was staying with him, in connection with a plan for perpetuating the memory of America's first envoy to Japan. The plan we agreed upon was the

erection of a monument at the Gyokusenji Temple, Shimoda, Idzu, where Mr. Harris set up the first consular flag of the United States on Japanese soil. But to my great sorrow, Ambassador Bancroft died during his incumbency, and Mr. Wolf returned to his homeland. Thus the responsibility of carrying out the plan we had agreed upon devolved upon me alone.

While in my youth I was exerting myself in the affairs of my country, I heard much of the achievements of Mr. Harris, and have always held him in high admiration for his lofty character. Hence, when I journeyed through the United States in 1909 as the Chairman of the Honorary Commercial Commission of Japan, I made special efforts to visit his grave in an old cemetery in the city of Brooklyn, and reverently laid a wreath at his tomb. The time of my visit there was well nigh toward the close of autumn, and the maple leaves overshadowing the grave were almost turned to scarlet, as if testifying to the genuineness of the great heart lying underneath. Buried in a deep reverie I found it not easy to tear myself away from the sacred spot. I then composed two poems, one in the Japanese and the other in the Chinese styles, and dedicated them to the memory of the admired hero.

Now in erecting this monument in honor of Mr. Harris, a paragraph from his diary is inscribed on the front face, as it affords us an insight into the conscientious catholicity of mind with which he grappled with his difficult task. On the back, I have thus far tried to outline the circumstances which led me to take part in this undertaking. To complete the sketch, I wish to quote my two poems above referred to,—all this by way of a humble tribute to his precious memory:

“Late in autumn in the moss grown grave yard,
A traveller from afar mournfully stands at the tomb,
Lo the sunset glow transfuses the overshadowing
maple into scarlet,
An apt symbol of the genuine heart of the ancient
hero.”

“The visitor at the tomb
A glimpse of the hero's heart caught
In the maple aglow with the sinking sun.”

Viscount EIICHI SHIBUSAWA,
Grand Cordon of the Order of the Rising Sun.
Senior Grade of Third Class Court Rank.

THE RECORD OF TOWNSEND HARRIS IN JAPAN.

Townsend Harris was born in Washington County in the State of New York on the 3rd of October, 1804. He began his early career as a crockery dealer, but ever since 1849 he was engaged in the Oriental trade, travelling back and forth between China and India. He was later appointed United States acting Consul pro tem. at Ningpo. In the meantime, the American Government despatched Commodore Perry to Japan and through him concluded a treaty of amity with the Japanese Government, but as no arrangement had yet been made for commerce, it was decided to further negotiate with Japan for the conclusion of a treaty of commerce. For this purpose Mr. Harris was sent to this country as the Consul-General of America, on account of his thorough acquaintance with the Oriental situation. It is understood that the appointment was made by President Pierce on recommendation of Secretary of State Marcy, a close friend of Mr. Harris'. It was on the 21st of August, 1856, or July 9 of the 3rd year of Ansei according to our calendar, that Mr. Harris, accompanied by his Dutch interpreter, Mr. Henry C. J. Heusken, arrived at the port of Shimoda, Idzu, on board the man of war San Jacinto.

On the day of his arrival at Shimoda, Mr. Harris immediately communicated with the local Governor and requested the latter to recognize and receive him as the Consul-General of America. At that time opposition to the Shogunate's foreign policy was growing stronger and more widespread among patriots and other leaders of opinion, whose ire had been roused by the course the

Shogun's Government had taken in opening the country. For fear of the public excitement being further aggravated by the presence of Mr. Harris, the Shogunate tried to prevent his landing under the pretext of the recent tidal wave at Shimoda and the great earthquake which had lately wrecked Edo and other parts of the country. But as Mr. Harris stoutly refused to listen to such arguments, the Government had to give way and permit him to land.

Thus Mr. Harris came ashore and established his Consulate-General at the Gyokusenji Temple at Kakizaki, on September 3, 1856, unfurling the Star and Stripes on the following day. In his diary we find this statement: "I hope I may so conduct myself that I may have honorable mention in the histories which will be written on Japan and its future destiny." This gives us a glimpse of the extraordinary determination with which he entered upon his duties. On the 25th of October, Mr. Harris wrote to the Ministers of the Shogunate to the effect that he desired personally to present his credentials from the President to the Shogun at Edo; that he would inform the Shogun of certain grave matters concerning Japan; and that he would report to the Shogun what he personally heard from Sir John Bowring, the British Governor of Hongkong, as to the latter's plan concerning Japan. At the same time Mr. Harris presented the Ministers with a Dutch translation of the treaty concluded between America and Siam. The Shogunate Ministers were opposed to the coming of Mr. Harris to Edo, because of the fear of a possible public commotion. So they advised him to take the matter up with the Governor of Shimoda, as the latter was vested with full powers. Against this, Mr. Harris remonstrated by stating that such serious matters should be discussed only with the highest authority

of the country. Seeing, however, that the hope of adjusting the difference of views was remote, Mr. Harris held, in the meantime, interviews with the Governor of Shimoda, and discussed with him such questions as the opening of the port of Nagasaki, the residence of American merchants in Japan, the exchange of gold and silver currencies by weight, consular jurisdiction, and the prerogatives of a consul-general. This resulted in the conclusion of the Shimoda Treaty of June 26, 1857.

But Mr. Harris never ceased to press for permission to come up to Edo. About this time Dutch people communicated to the Shogunate a report that Governor Bowring intended to come to Japan with a powerful fleet of war ships. This of course made the Shogunate officials very uneasy. They naturally concluded that the so-called grave matters to which Mr. Harris had referred to were related to the rumored visit of the British fleet. This made them desirous of hearing more in detail on this subject from Mr. Harris himself, so that they finally acceded to his request for an audience with the Shogun at Edo.

On November 23, 1857, Mr. Harris left Shimoda for Edo, where on December 7 he had an audience with Shogun Iyesada, to whom he presented his credentials from the President. On the 12th, Mr. Harris called on Minister Hotta at the latter's residence, and explained to him his views on the so-called grave matters. What he said may be summarized as follows: Mr. Harris began by referring to the great development the past fifty years had seen in the means of communication in the West, the result being an increasing tendency to make the world a united community. He said that any people trying to interfere with this world combination must be brushed aside, thereby hinting at the danger Japan incurred in remaining isolated.

He then referred to the necessity of concluding a commercial treaty between Japan and America, and urged the importance of permitting foreign Ministers to reside at Edo, of allowing the Japanese freely to trade with foreigners and of opening more ports for commerce. He also described the commotions at Canton, talked about the true object of Governor Bowring in his pending visit to Japan, and urged the advisability of concluding a treaty with America before a strong fleet of a third Power made its appearance in the Bay of Shinagawa.

The Shogunate, which had already made up its mind to enter into commercial relations with other countries, had its eyes still more widely opened by what they were told by Mr. Harris. It consequently appointed Kiyonao Inouye, the Governor of Shimoda, and Tadanari Iwase, the Governor's assistant, as its representatives with full powers to negotiate with Mr. Harris. They held altogether thirteen conferences with Mr. Harris, discussing article after article the draft treaty presented by him. By February 15, 1858 they completed their task, the result being embodied in a Commercial Treaty of 14 articles and the Trade Regulations consisting of seven rules. Among the questions settled, may be mentioned the establishment of a legation in the capital of Japan, the appointment of consuls at the treaty ports the recognition of right of travel in the interior, the opening of the two cities of Edo and Osaka, besides the five ports of Kanagawa, Nagasaki, Hakodate, Hyogo and Niigata, permission of direct transaction between the merchants of the two countries, agreement for the exchange of specie currencies by weight, and the recognition of extraterritoriality.

That the negotiation of a commercial treaty with a foreign country, a thing hitherto unknown in our history,

was consummated without any serious fault, was of course due to the decision of character of our Minister, Masamutsu Hotta, and the efficiency of the two plenipotentiaries. At the same time, it ought never to be forgotten that a large measure of credit is due to the considerate and generous assistance given by Mr. Harris.

Long afterward at the beginning of the Meiji Era, while talking with a Japanese, Mr. Harris referred to his part in the memorable task described above in this strain: "When we negotiated the treaty, on several points I went out of my way to concede to the wishes of the Japanese plenipotentiaries. for I considered that conciliation was mutually necessary in concluding negotiations with a people with different customs and manners. This was particularly the case in regard to the taxation of imports and exports. In spite of my belief in the principle of free trade, my solicitude to provide Japan with an ample revenue from the tariff made me agree to an average duty of twenty per cent, with a special thirty-five per cent rate in the case of certain commodities. Furthermore, I took care to insert a provision for future revision of the tariff, and I went even so far as to stipulate for the amendment of the Trade Regulations after a lapse of five years. But to my deep regret, it has to be stated that Japan's internal commotion created all sorts of obstacles, and every new treaty since concluded invariably involved a reduction in the tariff until it was whittled down to an average duty of five per cent. With regard to extraterritoriality, although it was considered advisable to maintain consular jurisdiction for a while, because conditions were then so different in Japan from what they are now, I expected that it would before long be done away with. It therefore deeply pains me to see that system still in operation at the present moment." This

statement should not be regarded as a mere compliment but an honest expression of the friendly sentiment that prompted Mr. Harris in his dealings with the Japanese Government.

After the conclusion of the Japanese American Commercial Treaty, Minister Hotta went up to Kyoto in March, 1858, in order to obtain Imperial sanction for it, but this question being entangled with that of selecting an heir to the Shogun, produced a political complication which prevented him from attaining the object of his trip. So he returned empty-handed to Edo in June. On the 5th of the month, Hotta invited Mr. Harris to his residence, and explained to him the state of things in the capital, and asked for a postponement of signing the document. Mr. Harris was firm against the proposal, and it was only after he had listened on the 7th to a detailed account of the state of affairs in the country made by Kiyonao Inouye and Tadanari Iwase, of the reception committee, that he reluctantly consented to a postponement for three months in appreciation of the difficult position in which the Shogunate found itself. Under the circumstances Mr. Harris left Edo on the 17th on a visit to his Consulate at Shimoda.

But soon after his arrival there, reports reached Japan to the effect that China, being defeated in war by England and France, concluded the Tientsin Treaty with them, and that the two Powers, flushed with the victory they had won, were sending a big fleet consisting of tens of warships to force Japan to make a treaty with them. Thereupon Mr. Harris came up to Kanagawa on board a warship on the 27th of July. From there he presented a letter to the Shogunate, intimating that if England and France should come now and call for negotiations, Japan

would find herself confronted with excessive demands, but that, if the Japanese Government at once signed the treaty with America, he would use his efforts in behalf of Japan and surely induce them to be contented with a treaty similar to the one with America. The Shogunate taking the warning seriously to heart signed the treaty on the 29th of July.

It cannot be denied that Mr. Harris made use of the reported visit of the Anglo-French fleets for a diplomatic purpose in order to secure the signing of the treaty. There are, indeed, people who do not hesitate to charge him with intimidation. At the same time, however, it has to be admitted that there was then actually a danger of the two European countries coming to Japan to apply united pressure upon her. Be that as it may, the fact remains that the treaties which the Shogunate subsequently concluded with Holland, Russia, England and France, were all patterned after the treaty with America and did not go beyond the limits set by the latter, thereby making good the assurance which Mr. Harris had given to the Government. In 1859 he was promoted to the office of a Minister, and in July of the same year he established the American legation in the Zempukuji Temple at Azabu.

Those were turbulent days, for among the people of the country there were many who bitterly censured the Shogunate for alleged blunders in the conduct of diplomatic affairs and who nursed intense hatred toward foreigners, not infrequently resorting to violence. This unfortunate state of affairs, which began to attract attention in 1859, came to assume alarming proportions by 1860. The Shogunate was greatly worried over the situation, and devised various measures for the protection

of foreigners. At the same time it asked them to be careful about their own safety, particularly warning them not to be on the streets at night. This was construed by foreigners as an attempt on the part of the Shogunate to restrict their freedom under the pretext of danger, so they did not pay much attention to the warning.

On the night of January 5, 1861, Mr. Heusken, Mr. Harris' righthand man, was assassinated on the bank of the Furukawa in Azabu. Sir Rutherford Alcock, the British Minister, was highly indignant at the Shogunate's inability to protect foreigners, and together with Minister Juchene de Bellecourt of France and Consul-General de Witt of Holland, he addressed a note of sharp censure to the Government. Then hauling down their national flags, they withdrew to Kanagawa. But Mr. Harris, alone among the foreign Diplomatic Representatives, refused to withdraw and courageously remained at his post in Edo. He thought that such joint demonstration on the part of the Powers was only liable to place Japan in an unnecessarily difficult position and increase international complications. With regard to the murder of Heusken, he held that the Shogunate alone was not to blame, because Heusken had disregarded the official warning against being out on streets at night. He took this attitude doubtless because he sympathized with the Shogunate in the difficult position in which it was placed in regard to domestic as well as foreign affairs, and because he was aware that anti-foreign agitations were unavoidable when a nation long secluded tried for the first time to open its door to the world. In any case his conduct in deliberately placing himself under the protection of the insufficient police force of the Shogunate at a time when acts of violence were daily increasing, as if he

was entirely oblivious of the dangers surrounding him, evinces a courage deserving of the highest admiration.

This, however, was not the only instance in which he manifested such deep solicitude for the good of Japan. When the Shogunate concluded commercial treaties with the five Powers, it was stipulated that the three ports of Kanagawa, Nagasaki, and Hakodate should be opened on July 4, 1859, Niigata on December 9 of the same year, Edo on January 1, 1862, and Hyogo and Osaka on January 1, 1863. The three ports of Kanagawa, Nagasaki, and Hakodate were opened on the date agreed upon, but as anti-foreign agitations increased in virulence and acts of violence upon foreigners became very frequent, the Shogunate fearing further disturbances in case the rest of the places designated were opened, considered it wise to postpone the date of their opening. The Government, consequently, approached Mr. Harris asking for his approval of the idea. Correctly appreciating the situation, he readily approved the proposal. He at once wrote to his Government and used his influence in favor of the Shogunate. Thus encouraged by the favorable attitude of Mr. Harris, the Shogunate conceived the idea of a postponement for seven years, and opened negotiations with the foreign Ministers in Japan, at the same time despatching a mission composed of Yasunori Takenouchi, Yasunao Matsudaira, and Takaakira Kyogoku, to Europe on the same errand in January, 1862. The result was the postponement of the opening of the places in question to January 1, 1868.

Then again when a Prussian envoy arrived at Edo in August 1860 and sought to conclude a treaty, Mr. Harris rendered a friendly service to our Government. The latter was then considering the postponement of the date

of opening the four places and was naturally disinclined to entertain the Prussian proposal. In response to Prussia's request, Mr. Harris acted as mediator and proposed to the Shogunate that, if it complied with the request of Prussia, he would, for the sake of the Japanese Government, prepare a public statement and send it to the non-treaty countries, so as to make them give up the idea of trying to enter into treaty relations with Japan. The Shogunate acceded to the proposal and signed the treaty with Prussia on January 24, 1861, stipulating to open only Kanagawa, Nagasaki and Hakodate. Mr. Harris on his part prepared the promised public statement and sent it to all the countries with which Japan was not yet in treaty relations. It is said that Spain had decided to send her envoy to Japan and was making preparations for the purpose, when she got the above mentioned statement, but that in view of the state of affairs in this country, she gave up the undertaking. In these ways Mr. Harris showed sympathy to Japan and never refused to befriend us. Is it any wonder, then, that the people of Japan gratefully cherish his memory until this day?

Since the death of Mr. Heusken, a close associate of his, Mr. Harris had been feeling lonely, and his health also began to fail. This led him to present his resignation to his Government in 1861. Regretting to lose him, the Shogunate sent a communication to the American Government asking it to retain him at his post, but before the letter reached Washington, a new envoy in the person of Mr. Robert Pruyn came to Japan in April, 1862. On April 26, Mr. Harris proceeded to the castle and had a farewell audience with the Shogun, leaving for home on May 11. He spent the remainder of his life quietly in New York City, where he was highly respected in social

circles, being nicknamed "the Old Tycoon". Tycoon is the title by which foreigners used to designate the Shogun, and as Mr. Harris had a close and honorable connection with the Shogun, he was naturally nicknamed after him. He died on February 25, 1878, due to illness at the age of 75 years, and was interred in the Greenwood Cemetery in the city of Brooklyn.

Mr. Harris stayed in Japan altogether five years and nine months. Those years mark a period of his life made for ever memorable by achievements of extraordinary interest. Mention must first be made of the framing of the Commercial Treaty between his country and Japan, which became a model for similar treaties Japan later concluded with other Powers. No less credit is due to him for the noble decision with which he refused on one occasion to join his colleagues of the Diplomatic Body in a united demonstration against the Shogunate, remaining at his post under very trying circumstances. But what is most noteworthy was his devotion to the principles of justice and humanity which always guided him in the execution of his official duties. He studiously refrained from using language of intimidation, nor did he follow the usual diplomatic procedure of relying upon force. Fair play characterised his attitude, being always true to his country and at the same time respecting the interests of Japan. It is a lasting testimony to his transparent sincerity of character that it succeeded in removing altogether the feeling of resentment which Commodore Perry had unfortunately produced in the hearts of our people. The sixty odd years that have since elapsed have witnessed a relationship of increasing cordiality existing between the two nations—a relationship built upon a foundation so soundly laid by the untiring exertions of Mr. Harris. An

ancient Oriental saying describes a successful diplomat as one that does not dishonor the Authority that sends him. Mr. Harris not only did not dishonor his Government, but he so conducted himself that his virtues are even now profoundly esteemed by the people of the country to which he was accredited. Truly can we say of him that he was a veritable model for diplomats of all nations and all ages.

くて君は紐育に、隱棲して風月を友とせしが、オールド大君と渾名せられて、深く社交界に重んぜられたりといふ。蓋し歐米人は我が將軍を呼ぶに、常に大君の稱を以てせるが、君は此大君との關涉多き功勞者なるにより、大君の稱は轉じて君にも應用せられしなり。千八百七十八年二月二十五日病を以て歿す、享年七十有五、ブルツクリン市なるグリーンウツドの墓地に葬らる。

嗚呼君は日本に駐劄すること前後通じて五年九ヶ月の久しきに及び、或は通商條約を締結して模範を列國に示し、或は同僚の共同宣言に反對して獨り苦節を守る。殊に國際間の問題が、常に威力を以て解決せられしにも拘らず、君は正義人道に則りて、苟も虚喝の辭を弄せず、本國の爲に圖ると共に、又日本の利益をも尊重し、公平の態度を持するを忘れざりき。我國民のペリー提督に對する反感は、君の至誠によりて一掃せらる。爾來茲に六十有餘年、日米兩國の交情日に親善を加ふる所以のもの、蓋し君によりて其基礎を築けるなり。古人に、四方に使して君命を辱めざるの語あり、況や任地の國人をして永く徳風を欽慕せしむる君の如きは、洵に外交官の典型なりといふべし。

に應ずべき意志なかりしかども、君は李國政府の依頼によりて仲裁の勞を執り、若し其要求を容れなば、予は日本政府の公報書を他の列國に紹介し、列國をして交通の希望を未然に拋棄せしめんといひしかば、幕府之に従ひ、李國に對して、兩都兩港を除き、神奈川・長崎箱館の三港のみを開くを承諾し、十二月十四日を以て條約に調印せり。是に於て君は前約を踐み、我國の公報書を未締約各國に通達したりしが、西班牙の如き、將に使節を派遣せんとして準備に著手せる際なりしかども、我國情を察して中止するに至れりと云ふ、君が常に同情を我國に寄せて、誘掖の勞を惜まざること斯の如し、我國民が今に至るまで君を追慕して已まざるもの、洵に所以ありといふべし。

是より先、君は多年の親友たるヒュースケンを失ひてより、寂寞を感ずること漸く深く、且つ健康亦舊の如くならざりしかば、文久元年辭表を本國政府に提出せり。幕府は深く君の我國を去るを惜み、米國政府に移牒して其留任を望むの意を通じたれども、未だ彼の地に達せざるに、翌二年三月後任の公使ロバート・ブレイン來著せるを以て、君は二十八日登城して暇を告げ、四月十三日本國に歸れり。か

て復た危地にあるを忘れたるものゝ如き、沈勇に至りては、眞に驚歎に堪へざるものあり。

然れども君が我國の爲めに赤誠を披瀝せるは是れのみにあらざるなり。初め幕府が五國と通商條約を締結するや、神奈川・長崎箱館の三港は安政六年六月五日より、新潟は同年十二月九日より、江戸は文久元年十二月二日より、兵庫・大阪は同年十一月十二日より開くべき旨を約したり。而して神奈川・長崎箱館の三港は斯の如く開港したれども、爾來排外の思想著しく瀾漫して、外人殺傷の事件など頻々として起りしかば、幕府は更に江戸・大阪・兵庫・新潟の兩都兩港を開きて人心を激せんことを恐れ、之を延期するの意あり、豫め君の同意を求めたるに、君は事情を察して其請を容れ、自ら本國政府に稟議して、幕府の爲に圖る所ありしかば、幕府は之に力を得て、愈七ヶ年延期の案を立て、各國公使に交渉を開始し、其結果、文久元年十二月竹内保徳・松平康直・京極高朗等を歐洲に派遣し、漸く慶應三年十二月七日まで延期することを得たり。又萬延元年七月寺漏生國の使節江戸に來りて締約を求めし時、幕府は兩都兩港をも延期せんとする際なれば、固より之

を加ふる者あり此事安政六年より起り、萬延元年に至りて漸く甚し。幕府深く之を憂ひ、警衛の方法につきて種々苦心する所ありしが、尙又外人の自重を望み、特に夜間の外出を見合はすべき旨を勸告せり。されど外人等は、幕府が事を危険に託して自由を束縛するものと誤解し、敢て意に介せざりき。偶同年十二月五日の夜、君の唯一の股肱たるヒュースケンも亦麻布古川端に於て殺害せらる。英國公使オールコックは、幕府が外人保護の任を完くせざるを憤り、佛國公使ベレクル、和蘭總領事デ・ウキットと共に、激烈なる詰問をなし、遂に各其國旗を撤して神奈川に退去せり。然るに君は斯の如き列國共同の宣言が、徒に日本をして困難ならしめ、延いて國際關係の紛擾を繁くするに過ぎざるを思ひ、且つヒュースケンは夜行制止の忠告を聽かずして此難に懼りたるものなれば、必ずしも幕府のみを咎むべきにあらずとて、獨り毅然として江戸の公使館に留まれり。これ蓋し君が内治外交共に困難を極めたる幕府の境遇に同情し、且つ新に國を開きて海外諸國と交らんとする時に於て、常に免れざる状態なるを察知せるに因れりと雖も、暴徒の狼藉日に甚しきの際、一身を不完全なる幕府の警察力に委ね、平然とし

通商を促さんが爲に、數十艘の軍艦を率ゐて渡來すべしとの報道と共に我國に達するに及び、君は六月十七日軍艦に乗じて神奈川に至り、書を幕府に呈して、英佛兩國若し來り迫らば、日本は過大の要求に苦しまん、今若し米國との條約に調印せば、予は日本の爲に斡旋し、誓つて他國をして米國と同様の條約に満足せしむべし」と忠告せしかば、幕府も亦之に鑑み、六月十九日を以て調印せり。君が英佛二國の渡來すべきを陳べて調印を迫りたるは、之を外交上の懸引に利用したるの跡は掩ふべからざるものあり、爲に或は恫喝したりとなす者あれども、他方より觀れば、二國連合して來り迫るの憂、亦實になきにあらざりしなり。殊に幕府は引續きて蘭露英佛の四國と條約を締結したれども、皆範を米國との條約に取り、未だ嘗て其規を越えざること、誠に君の言の如くなりしかくて、安政六年に至り、君は公使に陞任の命に接したれば、同年六月出府し、麻布善福寺を以て公使館となせり。

是時に當り、我國民の間には、幕府の對外政策が屢機宜を失へるものあるを非難して已まざると共に、外人に對しても亦嫌惡の念特に強く、往々にして之に暴行

餘地をも存し、五年の後に貿易の規約は再締すべき豫約をさへなしたり。然るに國內の不穩の爲め、種々の故障を生じ、彌改めて彌薄く、遂に五分平均の税を課するに至れるは、遺憾の極みなり。又治外法權の如きも、當時の日本は今日と全く事情を異にせるが故に、暫く領事裁判權を保留したれども、久しからずして其改定を見るに至るべしと期待せるに、今尙其規定の存するは、予の忍びざる所なり」と是れ君の辭令のみにあらず、君の日本に對する當年の厚意を語れるものといふべし。

日米通商條約議定の後、堀田正睦は其勅許を奏請せんが爲に、同年二月自ら上京したれども、事件は將軍繼嗣問題と關聯して紛糾を極め、遂に其目的を達するのと能はず、四月空しく江戸に歸り、二十四日君を自邸に招きて京都の事情を告げ、調印の猶豫を求めたり。君は容易に之を肯ぜざりしが、二十六日應接掛井上清直、岩瀬忠震の詳に國情を説くに及びて、漸く幕府の苦衷を察し、三ヶ月の猶豫を承諾せり。君乃ち五月七日を以て下田の領事館に歸る。然るに幾もなく、清國が英佛二國との戰に敗れ、天津條約を締結せる事は、二國が戰勝の餘威に乘じ、日本との

せるものなりき。幕府は是より先、既に通商開始の決心を定めたるが、君の所説を聽きて益啓發する所あり、下田奉行井上清直・目付岩瀬忠震を全權委員に任命し、君の提出せる條約草案に就きて、逐條會議を開くこと十三回に及び、翌安政五年正月十二日に至りて、通商條約十四ヶ條、貿易章程七則を議定す。即ち公使の在府、領事の開港場駐在、及び國內旅行の權を認め、神奈川・長崎・箱館・兵庫・新潟の五港と、江戸・大阪の兩市とを開き、兩國商人の直取引を許し、貨幣同種類の量目交換を定め、治外法權を承認せるは、其重なるものなりき。斯くて大なる失體もなく、前例なき通商條約を締結するを得たるは、堀田正睦の英斷と、兩委員の才幹とに因るといへども、抑亦君が懇切なる助力に負ふ所、極めて大なりといはざるべからず。君明治の初年往事を追想し、我が國人に告げて曰く、條約會議の際、予は殊俗異習の國民と交を結ばんには、互に譲る所なかるべからざるを思ひ、枉げて日本全權の意に従ひし事も少からず。殊に輸出入物稅率の事に至りては、持論たる自由貿易の本則に背き、日本の爲に關稅の收益多からしめんことを計り、二割平均の稅を定め、物によりては三割五分までの稅を課せしめ、尙將來に於ける稅率の改正の

見して、長崎の開港、米國商人の居住、金銀貨の量目交換、領事裁判、總領事の特權等に關する議事を開き、安政四年五月二十六日下田條約を締結すると共に、尙又出府の事を迫りて已まず。此時に當り、蘭人も亦ボーリングが強大なる艦隊を提げて渡來すべしとの説を傳へたれば、幕府の有司皆戒心あり、君の所謂重大事件なるものが、亦必ず之と關係あるべしと推測して、詳細の事實を聽かんことを希ひしかば、茲に始めて君の出府登城を許すに決したり。

十月七日君は下田を發して江戸に赴き、二十一日將軍家定に見えて、親しく大統領の書翰を捧呈し、二十六日更に老中堀田正睦を其邸に訪ひ、所謂重大事件を陳述せり。其要は、五十年以來西洋交通の發達は、世界を打ちて一團となすの傾向あるを以て、此世界的同盟を支障せんとする者あらば、之を排除せざるべからずとて、暗に我が鎖國の危険を諷示したる後、日米通商條約締結の必要に及び、公使を江戸に駐在せしめ、内外人民の自由に貿易に従事するを許し、更に多數の港を開くの急務を論じ、又廣東騷亂の狀況、ボーリング渡來の眞意を語り、他の強大なる艦隊の品川灣頭に出現せざる以前に、米國と條約を締結するの利益なるを勸告

に於ける幕府の施設宜しきを得ざるものあるに憤慨し、外交政策を非難する聲漸く盛んならんとする折柄なりしかば、幕府は君の渡來によりて國論の沸騰せんことを恐れ、辭を下田の海嘯、江戸及び諸國の大震等に託して、上陸を拒まんとしたれども、君の抗論によりて遂に之を許可するに至る。是に於て君は八月五日柿崎の玉泉寺に入りて領事館となし、六日始めて米國の國旗を掲揚せり。君が其頃の日記に、「予は現在の日本及其將來について記さるべき歴史に、予の名譽ある記録を留むるやう努力すべし」と云へるを見ても、君の決心の尋常ならざりしを察すべし。かくて君は九月二十七日書を老中に呈し、出府して大統領の書翰を將軍に捧げ、且日本に關係ある重大事件を報告すると共に、英國の香港總督ボーリングの日本に對する企望につきて、親しくボーリングより聞知せる所を語るべしと告げ、添ふるに米國と暹羅との條約の蘭譯を以てせり。然れども幕府は世の物議を憚り、全權を下田奉行に委任せるを以て、何事も奉行と交渉せらるべしとて、君の出府を拒みたり。君は此の如き重事は、必ず最高最貴の官人と共に議定するを要すと抗議せしが、容易に解決を見る能はざるを以て、君は其間に奉行と會

日本に於けるハリス君の事蹟

タウンセンド・ハリス君は、千八百四十年十月三日米國紐育州ワシントン郡に生まる。初め陶器商たりしが、千八百四十九年以來、支那印度の間を往來して、東洋貿易を營み、後ち寧波駐割の臨時米國代理領事となる。偶米國政府はペリー提督を日本に派遣して、修交條約を締結したれども、尙未だ貿易を開始するに至らざりしかば、更に通商條約締結の議を定め、君が東洋の事情に精通せるの故を以て、千八百五十五年八月四日特に擢で、日本駐割の米國總領事となし、其任に當らしめたり。これ君の親友なる國務卿マーシーが、大統領ピアスに推舉せる爲なりと云ふ。君乃ち通譯官蘭人ヒュースケンを伴ひ、軍艦サンゼシント號に乗じて伊豆下田に入港したるは、千八百五十六年八月二十一日、我が安政三年七月二十一日なりき。

君の下田に入港するや、即日書を同地の奉行に寄せて其渡來を報じ、且總領事としての待遇を受けんことを要求せり。是時に當り我國の志士等は、前年開國の際

顧望去る能はず、坐ろに詩歌各一篇を賦して墓前に手向けた
り。今此碑を建つるに當り、君の日記の一節を刻して、君の當年
の苦衷に同情し、碑陰に事の顛末を記し、併せて予の詩歌を録
し、以て銘に代ふと云ふ。

古寺蒼苔秋色深。孤墳來弔淚沾襟。霜楓薄暮燃如火。留得當年
錦繡心。

今もなほ、君が心をおくつきの、夕日ににほふ、紅葉にぞ見る

昭和二年九月 正三位勳一等子爵澁澤榮一撰并書

謂ふべし。是を以て予は嚮に本邦駐劄の米國大使バンクローフ
ト氏及米人ウルフ氏と謀り、君が同國最初の本邦駐劄總領事
として、我領土内に始めて其國旗を掲揚したる下田柿崎の玉
泉寺境内に記念碑を建て、以て君の功績を永く後世に傳へん
と企てたり。偶大使病を以て逝き、ウルフ氏亦歸國したるを以
て、予は獨り事に當りて終に工を完うすることを得たり。抑予
は弱冠にして國事に奔走し、夙に君の事蹟を聞知して、其高風
を欽慕すること久し。是を以て明治四十二年渡米實業團に長
として彼地に渡航するや、紐育市ブルツクリンの古刹に君の
墳塋を訪ねて、恭しく香花を供へたりしが、時恰も晩秋にして、
墓畔の楓葉錦繡の如く、故人の丹心と相映ずるの想あり。低徊

事亦甚だ險艱なり。之に加ふるに列國の使臣概ね我國情を解せず、往々擅恣倨傲の行爲あり、爲に物議を滋くするの憾なきを得ず。然るに君は常に公平の見を持ち、絶えず同情を我れに寄せたり。殊に萬延元年十二月、君の譯官ヒュースケン氏が麻布古川端に於て暴徒の兇刃に斃るゝや、列國公使は幕府の力を外人保護に用ゐざるを責め、各其國旗を撤して神奈川に退去せり。然るに當面の米國公使たる君は、却て列國使臣の行動を不當なりとし、其身邊の危險を顧みずして、麻布善福寺の公使館に留まり、平然として日常の事務を見たり。是に於て邦人始めて君の誠意を解し、深く米國に倚賴するに至れり。爾來茲に七十年、兩國親交の渝らざるもの、蓋し君に負ふ所大なりと

碑陰の文

安政三年七月タウンセンド・ハリス君の米國總領事として始めて豆州下田に渡來するや、我邦の上下未だ宇内の形勢に通ぜず、多くは外邦を以て貪婪饜くなきものとせり。君乃ち諄々として貿易の利害を説き、國交の情偽を語り、懇切に幕府有司の啓導に努めて、遂に日米通商條約を締結す。爾後幕府は相次で列國と條約を締結せるが、皆之を以て標準としたり。當時邦人尙或は此條約を以て、君が權謀術數を弄したるの結果なりとし、憤懣措かざる者ありしなり。尋で君が全權公使となりて江戸に移居するに及びても、幕府は内政益多端にして、外交の

同 其二

ハリス總領事日記の一節

西曆千八百五十六年九月四日。木曜日。昨夜は興奮と蚊群とに妨げられ、殆ど眠を爲さず。蚊は體軀極めて大なり。朝來予と共に上陸せし人々、予の旗竿を立てんとせしも、竿重くして捗らず、旗竿倒れ、横桁折れしも、幸に負傷せし者なし。終に軍艦よりの増援を得て、旗竿は立てられたり。此日午後二時半、一同其周圍に圓をなし、予は此帝國に於ける最初の領事旗を掲揚したり。感慨殊に深し。蓋し日本の國情變化の兆にして、更新の端なるべし。借問す、予が思惟する如く、日本の爲に眞に有益なりや如何にと。

碑面英文意譯 其一

西曆千八百五十六年九月四日、(安政三年八月六日)始めて日本帝國の此一角に領事旗を掲げ、翌年十一月二十三日まで此地に居住し、千八百五十八年七月二十九日江戸條約によりて日本の門戸を世界に開きたる、米國總領事タウンセンド・ハリス記念の爲め、此碑を建つ。

* 最後に下田を去りたるは千八百五十九年六月三十日なり。

千九百二十七年九月四日

建立者

子爵

澁

澤

榮

一

(故駐日米國大使)

エドガー・エー・バンクロフト

(市俄古市民)

ヘンリー・エム・ウルフ

精舎と、新に建設せられたる碑石とは、永へに日米交誼の由來を物語り、現在及び將來の兩國民に、多大の感化を與ふるものあるべきを信ず。是れ予が茲に碑石と堂宇との落成式を舉ぐるに當り、特に此小冊子を印刷して來會の諸賢に頒ち、日本に於けるハリス君の事蹟を紹介し、併せて君が在天の靈に感謝する所以なり

昭和二年十月一日

子爵澁澤榮一識

緒言

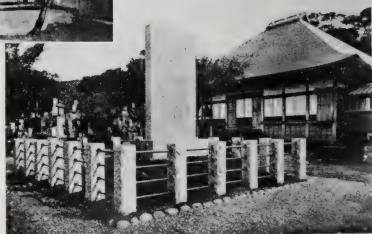
伊豆國下田柿崎の玉泉寺は、邊陲の小伽藍に過ぎざれども、タウンセン・ド・ハリ
ス君が米國最初の領事館を置きたる舊蹟として、其名夙に著はる。ハリス君は
我か開國の恩人なり、日米兩國の交情常に親善なる所以のもの、君に負ふ所甚
だ多し。然るに未だ此由緒ある史蹟を顯揚し、君の功績を永遠に記念すべき施
設を見ざるは、予の深く遺憾とする所なり。偶米國全權大使バンクロフト氏亦
之を慨し、同國人ウルフ氏と謀り、記念碑建立の事を予に託せらる。又玉泉寺の
堂宇は、米國領事館撤廢の後、七十年の星霜を経て、甚だしく荒廢し、大正十二年
の震災に因りて更に大破したれば、住職檀越并に關係町村長等諸氏、汎く資を
募りて修理を加へんとし、予に援助を求めらる。予乃ち日米協會會長徳川公爵
に請ひ、同會員諸氏の賛同を得て、其舉を助け、以て舊觀に復したり。而して建碑
の事は、バンクロフト氏の不慮の逝去によりて一時頓挫したるも、予は初志を
枉げずして工程を進め、遂に之を落成せしめたり。惟ふに當年の領事館たりし

目次

タウンセンド・ハリス君肖像	卷頭寫眞
記念碑	同
緒言	一
碑面英文意譯	三
碑陰の文	五
日本に於けるハリス君の事蹟	九



米國領事館全景
安政三年八月・セ・ヒ・ユ・ス・ケ
氏の在館當時寫生したもの



修繕後の玉泉寺本堂と記念碑



安政三年八月六日領事館旗掲揚に地立したる記念碑



スリハ・ドンセンウタ 事領總



幕の兵水人米む埋を骨に國異

石川町



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INTRODUCTION

Although my lecture is entitled "The Development of Economic Life in Japan," I shall treat principally of the Tokugawa and Meiji periods because of the shortness of time at my disposal. Were I to begin from the prehistoric age and tell the story down to the present within this very narrow limit of time, the lecture would necessarily become one of vague generalities and of little interest to you.

However, since the modern economic history of Japan is a continuation of a long process of development down through the ages, it is necessary to sketch, however briefly, the development from the prehistoric age down to the beginning of the Tokugawa period, in order to clarify the position occupied by the periods we are about to examine.

Chapter I

A Sketch of the Economic Life of Japan from the Prehistoric Period down to the End of the Middle Ages

One finds various peculiarities in the history of the economic life of Japan as compared with that of European countries. There is very little difference, however, in their fundamental course of development. Thus, the Japanese economic life also began at first with a primitive existence with fishing and hunting as the principal methods of food-gathering. In archaeology this period is called the Stone Age.

Later in the ancient period, when sedentary farming was evolving and when iron implements became the principal tools of production, the former became the controlling means of gaining one's livelihood.

In their study of the development of various peoples of Europe, European and American economic historians recognize the pastoral period as succeeding to the age in which fishing and hunting were the principal means of subsistence. In Japan, it would seem, there was no such period. Owing to the geographic and topographical condition of the Japanese islands, fishing was easily pursued so that there was very little need for the meat of domestic animals.

The period in which sedentary farming was the most important

method of production continued for a very long time in Japan as in Western Europe — certainly until the beginning of the Meiji period. Of course, during this long time, there were changes and developments. Thus, at the beginning of the period it would seem that there existed an organization akin to the village community as described by English economic historians. Again, there was a time when slaves, many or few, were employed to till the soil. Large armies of slaves, however, were never used as in ancient Greece or Rome. The period in which these slaves were employed corresponds to the Nara and early Heian periods. At this time, naturally farming and the handicraft industries existed side by side in the outlying districts with the villages forming self-sufficient economic units. In the metropolis, built around the imperial residence as its centre, money was used. A few artisans, artists and scholars began to appear at the Imperial Court. The government was in the hands of the Emperor, with the aristocracy holding important positions both in the central and provincial offices.

During the Heian period and especially after the middle of the same age, the warriors who had been engaged heretofore in maintaining peace and order in the provinces in positions subordinate to the aristocracy became powerful. They opened up new lands or swallowed up those belonging to the aristocracy, thus giving rise to many *shōen*. (The *shōen* is somewhat akin to the manor of Mediaeval England). In this manner, a feudal society began to grow.

Presently there arose a rivalry between the two powerful warrior families of Minamoto and Taira. For a time the latter gained power, but this was short-lived; and soon the Minamoto family put the Taira adherents to flight, thus establishing the Kamakura

Shogunate.

During the Kamakura period, the warrior class did not yet have complete control over Japan, since both the *shōen* belonging to the Government and those belonging to the aristocracy still remained outside their control. Nevertheless, beginning with this period and down through the Muromachi period the *shōen* were gradually assimilated by the warrior class. Meanwhile warfare was carried on constantly between the warrior families themselves and in this process the small and weak were absorbed by the large and strong until by the middle of the Muromachi period the *daimyō* appeared. Thus a new type of feudal society with territories under the suzerainty of *daimyō* gradually came into being. The feudal fief was much larger in scale than the *shōen*, and usually included in its confines a few towns and many villages besides its centre of activities, the castle-town.

Agriculture was the most important productive industry which developed throughout the Middle Ages. Handicraft industries now split off from farming, giving rise to the trade associations called the *za* (the *za* is akin to the guild of the Middle Ages), composed of men engaged in each industry. It was also at this time that cities arose out of the market places, which were the seats of famous shrines and temples and castle-towns. Along with this phenomenon we witness the growth of commerce and the practice of money lending. Foreign trade was carried on at first with China and later with European countries; there were merchant adventurers much like those of mediaeval England; and some commercial ports became prosperous.

After the arrival of the Portuguese in 1543, other Europeans came to Japan in increasing numbers for trade, and Japanese-

European trade began to prosper. This trade with Europe brought great changes in all phases of Japanese social life, and particularly great was the influence in the economic, military and religious life of the Japanese people. The importation of guns and gun-powder at a time when feudal lords were struggling for supremacy stimulated the exploitation of mines by powerful *daimyō*, who needed gold and silver to buy them. This, in turn, stimulated the rise of money economy. Moreover, a radical change in the strategy of war now came about by which a band of men equipped with guns became a very important war unit. Many soldiers were now gathered into the castle-towns of the *daimyō* thus giving an impetus to the rapid rise of cities. The upshot of all this was that commodity and money economy arose, which together with rapid development of the art of war hastened the opportunity for the unification of the entire country. This unification was made possible by the achievements of Oda Nobunaga and Toyotomi Hideyoshi and was completed by Tokugawa Iyeyasu.

Chapter II

Economic Life During the Tokugawa Period.

The battle of Sekigahara fought in the fifth year of Keichō (1600 A.D.) is one of the most notable in Japan. Tokugawa Iyeyasu who emerged as the victor now became the actual supreme power of the land. Iyeyasu proceeded immediately to portion out over 90% of the whole country — except the very small portions belonging to the Imperial Household, temples and shrines — to himself, the *hatamoto* and other *daimyō*, the descendants of his

family, meritorious retainers and subdued *daimyō*. In this manner, Iyeyasu succeeded in obtaining absolute obedience from his retainers, old and new. Thus a unified feudal society was established on a nation-wide scale. This social organization lasted for more than two centuries and a half — a phenomenon which, in all probability, is unparalleled in world history.

The fact that the Tokugawa family remained in power for such a long time was due, on one hand, to the superiority both in extent and quality of its domain over that of other princes and to the ingenious policy of keeping the *daimyō* in subjection made possible by this stupendous power; and on the other hand, to the policy of isolation, which was in reality a strong limitation of foreign trade, whereby the infiltration of foreign, particularly European, goods and capital was limited.

However, the formation of such a nation-wide and unified feudal society itself was an inevitable result of the trend toward unification hastened by the rapidly developing economic life by the revolution in the art of war, and especially in the closing years of the Muromachi period by foreign trade. Consequently, from the very beginning of its establishment, the feudal society of this period already contained within its constitution anti-feudalistic elements which were to lead toward disintegration. These elements were gradually strengthened by such phenomena as the concentration into the cities of the *samurai* through the system of “*sankin kōtai*”¹; the phenomenal rise of the cities; the expansion of the communication system; the diffusion of money economy; and the expansion of markets.

(1) *Sankin Kōtai*: The *daimyō* took turns in attending on the *Shogun* at Yedo, where they stayed one year, and went back to their respective domains for another year's residence.

The Tokugawa age may be characterized as the period of the maturity and disintegration of feudal society. We shall now examine the different phases of the economic life of the period.

Rural Economy

Although from the early part of the period in question, trade economy was gradually making its way into rural communities, the fundamental principle of their economic life was self-sufficiency. Farming and handicraft industries were generally united. Agricultural machinery, however, was lacking, farming implements having been manipulated largely by man-power, though a considerable number of horses and cattle were employed. Water-wheels were used for irrigation and for the preparation of cereals. Through two and a half centuries of peace, a considerable improvement in the method of cultivation took place. The variety of crops increased; especially, it should be noted that silk-culture and the growing of cotton reached the point of supplying the needs of the domestic market. New fields were opened up, and thus while the census taken during the Toyotomi era showed that the area of cultivated land measured in terms of *koku* was about 18,000,000, it increased by the Genroku era (around 1690) to 26,000,000, and by the thirteenth year of Tempo (1842) to 30,550,000. The farmers of the time paid their taxes principally in goods — usually at a rate of 50%. Being under the authority of their feudal lords, they were restricted not only in such matters as the moving of their homes, change in occupation, and the use of land, but were also bound with reference to their religion and so forth. The individual holdings of these serfs were generally small, the average

cultivated area being about one *chō*, tilled principally by household labour. Amongst them, however, were a few landowners who possessed a considerable area of land, farmed by servants, and by seasonal and day labourers. Among these landlords were some who, tilling a part of their holdings, lent the rest out to tenant farmers. In fact, we find few landlords who did not till the soil at all. Moreover, there existed not a small number of poor farmers who eked out their existence either by supplementing their too small holdings by tenancy or solely by farming rented land.

The life of the farmers was especially miserable, for as time went on the feudal lords levied increasingly heavy taxes. Moreover, accompanied by the infiltration into the villages of trade economy, money and capital, and through pawning and mortgage loans, small holdings were gradually absorbed into a few larger ones. The poor farmers, thus having lost their lands, were forced to become tenants who had to pay rent on top of the taxes. In this manner, a great number of farmers were gradually driven into poverty. Recurrent famines hastened the process.

Mabiki, the emigration from the villages, and peasant revolts arose as results of the impoverishment of the farming population. *Mabiki* was the method of restricting the population by means of infanticide and abortion. This practice became particularly common after the middle and especially during the latter period. In addition, famine and pestilence also contributed to keeping the population stationary for about one century and a half — roughly between 1700 to 1870 — when the figure went up and down between twenty-eight and thirty millions.

Many farmers who had lost their lands also left the villages and after settling in Yedo, Osaka, Kyoto and other large castle-

towns, either became servants in the employ of the *samurai*, merchants and artisans, or day labourers. Still others joined the ranks of the miners, menial transportation hands and vagabonds. Nevertheless, the power of the cities to absorb the excess population of villages was very limited, for as yet there had arisen no large-scale industry. Thus these farmers, driven into the very depths of poverty and want, often rose up in arms whenever heavier taxes were levied or in time of famine. Throughout the Tokugawa period, these peasant uprisings occurred probably over one thousand times.

Industries

The industries of the Tokugawa period generally did not progress beyond the handicraft stage. The common handicraft industries of the period can be divided into the following groups:

- (a) Those of the peasant households for the purpose of self-support;
- (b) those carried on by the craft guilds in towns and cities;
- (c) domestic industries carried on by persons possessing a relatively large amount of capital who lent the necessary money, implements and raw materials to the producers — who were principally peasants, lower classes of *samurai* and poor people — sometimes even paying wages ;
- (d) and those carried on under a factory system without machines whereby many labourers were gathered in the workshop.

Among the foregoing categories, the first two were the most widely practised methods; but after the middle of the period, the third method, namely, domestic industries, gradually began to

flourish, and along with it the factory system arose.

Group (a) consisted largely of the making of fertilizers, clothing both in raw materials and finished goods, and furniture. Group (b) covered a wide variety of economic activity, including carpentering, plastering, blacksmithing and *tatami*-making. Each craft was organized into a system of masters, apprentices and journey-men; membership in the guild was restricted; and each guild enjoyed certain privileges. In these respects, the craft guilds in Japan resembled those of England. Group (c) gradually embraced various industries; however, the chief among them were the making of general merchandise and raw materials for clothing and cloth-making. Coming under the last classification, the steel industry, textile manufacture and brewing were fairly active. Factory production by the use of machines imported from the West was applied to the making of steel, fire-arms and cotton spinning by the Shogunate Government, and by several other clan governments after the Kayei era (1848-1853)

Communications and Cities

During this period also the communication system developed by leaps and bounds. As to roads, besides the five main highways which were under the direct control of the Shogunate Government, numerous important thoroughfares were opened up all over the country connecting the large cities; from these, countless branch roads reached out into the hinterlands, thus completing the national network of roads. The main factors contributing to such a rapid development of roads were the system of "*sankin kōtai*" and the rise of trade economy. On the main highways relays of horses and

kago or palanquins were the chief means of transportation. And along the way, of course, post-towns and inns naturally grew. It should be remembered, also, that overland communication was often restricted from political and military considerations, as shown by the many barriers placed all over the country and by the fact that the building of bridges was not allowed.

Communication by water also saw considerable advance. Many rivers were now opened up for purposes of transportation. Ocean communications were limited to coastwise sailings due to the policy of seclusion and the prohibition against building large ships. The principal routes were:

- (a) between Yedo and Osaka, which was most important;
- (b) between Osaka and Nagasaki, which was also often used;
- (c) between Shimonoseki and Matsumaye; and
- (d) between the points in the Ou district and Yedo.

Couriers were used for the despatch of news and mail. There were two kinds of courier systems: one established by the Shogunate Government and the *daimyō*; and the other maintained by private enterprises. The latter became much more in evidence later.

The Tokugawa period was also an epochal age for the rise of cities—a development always accompanying advance in the economic life of a people; but an added political factor was also at work, and that is the concentration of the *samurai* into cities and the system of *sankin kōtai*. For this reason, the castle-towns arose first followed by the commercial cities. No large industrial city had as yet appeared. In Yedo, the largest of the castle-towns, were located the headquarters of the *Shogun*, the mansions of various *daimyō* and the estates of the *hatamoto*¹; practically one half of

(1) *hatamoto*: “banneret” would be its literal equivalent.

the entire population were of the *samurai* class, others were either merchants, artisans, Buddhist monks or those engaged in miscellaneous labour. Yedo was also a commercial industrial city which at its height of prosperity had a population of about 1,300,000 to 1,400,000. It was the largest city in the world during the eighteenth century. The castle-towns of various feudal lords had similar characteristics and those of the great lords possessing a population of several tens of thousands were numerous. With five hundred thousand people living in its confines, Osaka was the largest of the commercial cities. Here lived wealthy merchants and money-lenders; and it was thus the financial centre as well as the greatest distributing centre of goods. It is no wonder that the people of the time called it the "kitchen of the nation." Besides, there were many cities that were religious, commercial or industrial centres, with Kyoto (500,000) and Nagasaki (50,000) as the most outstanding.

Commerce

The Tokugawa period witnessed also a phenomenal rise in commerce. Since, on account of the enforcement of the seclusion policy, foreign trade was extremely restricted, the commerce of the time was generally confined within the narrow limits of the domestic market. This domestic commerce, however, made a remarkable progress. The chief characteristics of this development may now be summarized. They were (a) the great expansion of markets; (b) the appearance of many merchants specializing in different lines, and their differentiation into various groups among themselves; (c) the rise of speculation; and (d) the great increase in the social

power of merchants, with the accumulation of capital.

The most important commodity of the time was rice which was followed by materials for clothing, paper, sugar, wax, indigo, aquatic products, *sake*, vegetable oil, fish fertilizer, lumber, pottery, hardware and so forth. These goods were now sold practically throughout the country. Thus, for instance, the aquatic products of the Matsumaye region were shipped as far as Kyushu, and the Kyushu sugar found a market in Matsumaye. The distributing centres for these goods were Osaka, Yedo and other commercial cities.

Although there was no thorough differentiation between the merchants and the producers in the system of the *za* (guilds) of the Mediaeval period, numerous merchants dealing in different kinds of merchandise appeared in the Tokugawa period and formed themselves into guilds. The merchants of the time could be divided into four groups, namely, the commission merchants (*toiya*), brokers (*nakagai*), retail merchants and peddlers. Among the first two groups were many men of great wealth. These merchant princes were usually in Yedo, Osaka and Kyoto, but a few lived in the castle-towns of various clans.

With the expansion of markets, transactions had now become large and time transactions were had on some very important goods, such as rice. Such exchanges existed in Osaka, Yedo, Kyoto and other important cities. However, there was no stock-exchange as joint-stock companies were not as yet in existence.

During the Tokugawa period, personal status was strictly defined by law into the four main classes of "*shi-nō-kō-shō*" or the *samurai*, the farmer, the artisan and the merchant. By the middle of the Tokugawa period, however, the status of the mer-

chants became actually, though not legally, higher than that of either the farmer or the artisan. This was due to the general elevation of their position in cultural and social life resulting from the rapid accumulation of wealth. A few among them who possessed great wealth lent money even to the Shogunate Government and to other feudal lords, the result of which was more accumulation of wealth so that after the middle of the Tokugawa period their power and influence often overwhelmed that of the *daimyō*. Thus a scholar of the later period remarked, "the *daimiyō* of the land trembled with fear once the merchant prince of Osaka rose in anger."

The Monetary and Credit System.

Some money had been in use since the Nara period, but it was mostly unweighted coins (*hyōryō kahei*). It was only in the Tokugawa period that coins became commonly used. Thus, for the first time, gold, silver, and copper (including brass and iron) coins were made and used commonly. Of course, there were some silver coins used by weighing each time. Moreover, since there was no standard system of currency, various coins were used in unlimited amount and prices were quoted on them. Needless to say, money was used mostly in cities and towns, but after the middle of the Tokugawa period it became quite common in the villages. Besides the above mentioned coins many paper currencies were also issued, the chief among which were the clan currencies circulated only within the respective clans. These paper currencies were issued by a majority of the clans and circulated chiefly after the middle of the period. Moreover, immediately prior to the Meiji Restoration,

even the Shogunate Government issued paper currency.

The credit system developed considerably during the Tokugawa period. As exchange economy develops and becomes complicated, there arise business transactions which take place at different times and places. The credit system comes into being in order to regulate these trade relations and to do away with the transfer of money each time. Moreover, the rise of money economy inevitably leads to the hoarding of capital for the employment of which the credit system again comes into being. The largest credit machinery of the period was the exchange-broker. These merchants were originally engaged in the exchange of currency, but they began in the Tokugawa period to transact business similar to that of the banks. Thus, they engaged in the buying and selling of gold and silver, the lending of money, the issuing of checks, and drawing of money orders, and the accepting of deposits. Most of these exchange-brokers were in Yedo and Osaka, though there were some in other cities. The largest of them presently became the banking institutions for the Shogunate Government and the feudal lords. Besides these exchange-brokers, there were small money lenders—generally usurers—who catered to individuals.

Economic Decline of the Samurai Class

Thus moneyed interests gradually gained in power over landed interests. Important evidence of this fact is the economic decline of the *samurai* class. Although the economic situation of the Shogunate Government was reasonably sound until the rule of the fourth *shogun*, financial difficulties came to the surface during the rule of the fifth *shogun* in the Genroku era (1686-1703), when bad

money was coined, taxes increased and other various financial policies put into effect in an effort to save the situation. But no fundamental relief was effected. The financial affairs of the Shogunate Government generally grew worse until, toward the end of the period when international problems and domestic political conflicts were taxing the minds of the high officials of the Government, and when it was at war with the Satsuma and Choshu clans, the Government even tried to borrow money from France in order to save the situation.

The same situation confronted all feudal lords, except very few, from the very beginning of the Tokugawa period. Thus they were gradually driven into dire straits, though they had attempted to save themselves from financial disaster by resorting to various means, such as increased tax levies; the opening up of new lands; increase in the issue of paper currency; and encouragement of production within the clan domain and its monopolization. Among them were some who, having borrowed large sums of money from the merchant princes of Osaka and Yedo, came under the control, in matters of finance, of the latter.

The classes of *samurai* below the rank of feudal lords experienced even worse difficulties. Only a small number of the *samurai* were given land in fief from their respective lords; and thus the majority of them merely received either rice or money from their lords in return for their allegiance. The amounts, however, received by these retainers were very small. Cast in the very midst of the whirlpool of city life with such a meagre income, it was inevitable that they should become poverty-stricken. The majority of these lower classes of *samurai* busied themselves with various kinds of handiwork in order to earn some side money and to pull themselves

out of poverty. Some of them became artisans. And at the same time, naturally, they were losing little by little the *samurai* consciousness. It is no wonder, therefore, that many who became dissatisfied with the feudal system should arise from among them to take up positions of importance in the Meiji upheaval.

Chapter III

Economic Development Since the Meiji Period

Since the beginning of the Meiji period the economic life of Japan has developed with a rapidity almost unequalled in the history of the world. Let us now examine the causes of this phenomenon. The latter half of the Tokugawa period corresponds to the hundred years, beginning in the middle of the eighteenth century, that mark the rise of modern industrialism in Europe. During all this time, Japan was maintaining her policy of seclusion, looking to the epoch-making economic advance of Europe and America far away. Presently, however, it became impossible to exclude from Japan the overwhelmingly strong pressure of modern capital and of goods from these countries; and in 1858 (fifth year of Ansei) Japan signed commercial treaties with five countries, having had no choice but to open up the country for free intercourse with foreign nations. The influence brought upon the economic life of Japan by this opening of the ports for foreign trade was enormous. The Japanese feudal economic order which was already on the verge of bankruptcy had to be swiftly revolutionized. Moreover, having had no choice but to be thrown overnight into the very vortex of international economy, Japan now had to transform her economic life

quickly into a modern capitalistic system. Swift change and rapid development became absolutely necessary. Let us now see in what directions changes were made in the early years of Meiji.

1. The Abolition of Various Systems of Feudalism in the Early Meiji Period.

Several years after the Restoration, the new revolutionary Government did away with the many limitations concerning removal and domicile which were in force during the Tokugawa period.

Occupations and economic activities had also been hedged about by a system of feudal personal status known as the "*shi-nó-kó-shó*." The new Government presently eliminated all the above-mentioned restrictions together with the privileges enjoyed by the guilds. Those reforms were also made during the first year of the Meiji period.

Restrictions upon the trade between clans, and local duties placed upon goods in transit, were done away with shortly after the Meiji upheaval. Furthermore, trade with foreign countries was made much freer.

During the Tokugawa period, the right of ownership of land on the part of the farmers was not clearly recognized, and the right of personal property of the merchants was often violated. The Meiji Government now clearly recognized these rights of property.

2. The Transformation of the *Samurai* Class into Producers.

The *samurai* class of the Tokugawa age numbered about two million, including their families. Thus there was one *samurai* to every fifteen or sixteen of population. Although there were numerous gradations in rank, when taken as a whole, they were the

ruling class, having participated in the work of government and in military affairs. After the Meiji Restoration, however, when the system of personal status was abolished and when the compulsory military system was instituted, the *samurai* no longer remained in the privileged position of their forebears. Thus between the third and the ninth years of Meiji the new Government disposed of the hereditary stipend, substituting money in the form of government bonds. Nevertheless, it was impossible for the *samurai* descendants to maintain themselves for a long time on the interest of the bonds. Most of these *samurai* now began to undertake various enterprises with the newly received bonds as capital, and the Government encouraged them by legislating various protective measures. The majority, however, were complete failures, and the *samurai* joined the ranks of the common labourer. A few became leaders in new industries as well as in Government, thus contributing much to the later development of modern industries.

3. Land Reform.

In order that the economic life of Japan after the beginning of the Meiji period may be transformed into a capitalistic system, farming was now also based on principles of trade and money economy. The greatest stimulus to this change was furnished by the reform in the land system centering around revision of the land tax after the sixth year of Meiji. The following changes were also made.

In the first place, the management of agriculture became free so that any crop could be raised on any land without restriction.

In the second place, land could now be bought and sold, conveyed by deeds and divided into portions, without limitation. The

possessors of title-deeds, therefore, could easily dispose of their lands.

Finally, the system of taxation was revised. During the Tokugawa period, the land tax was paid principally in goods. Now, in principle, it was paid in money. The tax assessment was based upon the value of the land itself. Moreover, the rate of taxation was lowered and standardized. As a result of these reforms, both the trade and money economy infiltrated more and more into agriculture and, in turn, encouraged the farmers to produce their products as marketable goods. In this process of agricultural reorganization, however, land became gradually the possession of a few, and land barons rose in power as tenant farmers increased in number. The farm rent under the tenancy system was still paid in goods and the rate was very high, generally 50%. Consequently, the tenant farmers have usually been very poor. The landed proprietors and independent farmers became well-to-do temporarily when the price of rice went up as long as the taxes were fixed. But later, taxation having become heavy, and rice and other agricultural products having dropped in price as compared to industrial goods, particularly in recent years, all classes of farmers—landlords, independent farmers and tenants—have been in distress. Furthermore, contributing to the rapid transformation of rural economy should be cited the important role played by silk culture and reeling and other subsidiary occupations which developed along with the development of foreign trade.

4. The Government Policy of Transplanting Large Industries in the Early Meiji Period.

The Meiji Government early launched upon the importation

of modern large industries from the then more advanced nations of Europe and tried to implant them in Japan. The Government itself took the leadership in the nature and development of the enterprises, since private capital was as yet insufficient, and initiative and knowledge were lacking. The activities of the Meiji Government in this direction may now be summarized.

In the first place, the Government instituted the system of model enterprises managed by itself. This system extended over mining, industries such as silk filatures, cotton spinning, shipbuilding, brewing, and printing, and even over agriculture and pasturing. These enterprises were managed by the Government for about the first ten years of the Meiji period, and after about the middle of the second decade, these Government-owned-and-operated mines, model factories, model farms and pastures were gradually handed over to civilians. These models had great influence in the later development of Japanese industries.

In the second place, the system of currency was firmly established and that of banking and corporations transplanted. The currency system of the Tokugawa period having been in a state of confusion was unsuitable for the new economic system. Therefore, the Meiji Government, in the period between its first and third years, promulgated the new currency law, established the mint and issued new money. Owing to financial difficulties, however, a large amount of inconvertible paper money was issued which could not relieve the financial disturbance. And the currency reform was not completed until after the adoption of the gold standard in the thirtieth year of Meiji. The first bank was established in the second year of Meiji. After the law governing national banks was promulgated in the fifth year of Meiji, many national banks came into

being. These were organized largely as corporations, and later came under private ownership and management. Numerous corporations other than banks were also established during the period.

A revolution in the system of transportation began with the importation of a steamship toward the end of the Tokugawa Shogunate. In the third year of Meiji, the Government organized a company with steamships imported from foreign countries which were handed over by the Shogunate Government and other clans, and had it open regular services between Yokohama and Tokyo and Kobe and Osaka. Later, the Government had the company open a coastwise service and gave it much protection and encouragement. The foundation of the phenomenal development of the Japanese shipping business of the present day is found entirely in the protection and encouragement given to the industry in its infancy. On land, the Government launched the policy of owning and operating railways. Thus the work of laying the tracks between Yokohama and Tokyo was commenced in the third year of Meiji and completed two years later. Since then the Government has extended its network throughout the country. The new postal system began to operate throughout the country after the fourth year of Meiji. In the eighth year, postal savings, money-orders and foreign mails began to be handled.

Numerous other industrial enterprises were imported during the first ten years of the Meiji period. These became the foundation for the rapid development later of various industries in Japan. The leading personalities who had shaped the economic policies of Japan were Okubo Toshimichi in the Government and Shibusawa Eiichi among the civilians.

5. Change in the Financial and Economic Policy after the Thirteenth Year of Meiji

Until about the tenth year of Meiji the whole energy of the government was being expended in the overthrow of the feudal system and in the importation of new industrial and economic methods from abroad. These activities required an amount of capital out of proportion to the financial resources of the time. Moreover, there were internal disturbances and complications with foreign countries. Thus the financial position of the Government came to the verge of bankruptcy just at the time of the Satsuma rebellion in the eleventh year of Meiji, and the paper currency declined sharply. The necessary reforms were made during the period between the thirteenth and eighteenth years of Meiji, and the leader of these reforms was the Finance Minister, Matsukata Masayoshi. The reforms may now be referred to briefly. Great savings were made by economizing in the Government expenditure, both central and local, and economies were effected in the expenses involving overseas payments. The government-owned-and-operated mines and factories were handed over to private companies, thus changing to the policy of protecting private business. Moreover, industries for export purposes were encouraged while the enterprises producing goods which were being imported were given protection. And, finally, the Government tried to increase the export of domestic products by lowering prices and also sought ways and means of lessening imports.

Although the above-mentioned reforms were over as a whole by the eighteenth year of Meiji, the policies then instituted were continued until about the time of the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895. In this period, the industrial and economic system

was put in order, promoted and completed; the Japanese capitalist economy was thus placed in its proper channel of development.

6. The Development of Large Industries in Japan

The rapid importation of large industries into Japan after the beginning of the Meiji period was by no means the first occasion; for we find that toward the end of the Tokugawa period, in the years around the Ansei era, the Shogunate Government and the Satsuma and Saga clans had already imported the technique of western machine production. However, they were confined principally to things with a military purpose such as the blast furnace, the only exception being the establishment of a cotton-spinning factory by the Satsuma clan in the third year of Keiō. Since silk began to be exported in large quantities after the opening of the country to foreign intercourse, the silk-reeling industry was the first to mechanize extensively. In the sixth year of Ansei a crude but mechanized silk filature had been built in the province of Kozuke, and in the third year of Meiji, another was established in the Maebashi district. Two years later, the Meiji Government built a model silk filature factory at Tomioka. Many others were built in various localities. Cotton spinning was next mechanized. The first factory devoted to cotton spinning was built in the third year of Keiō in the city of Kagoshima. This was followed by the one at the city of Sakai in the third year of Meiji and two years later, by another at Takinogawa in Tokyo prefecture. After this, and especially since the tenth year of Meiji, the cotton spinning industry was mechanized so rapidly under the protection of the Government that by the time of the Sino-Japanese War, it completely overwhelmed the conventional hand spinning. Machine production was also applied to

such industries as ship-building, iron manufacturing, cement-making, and the manufacture of foreign paper. These industries, however, are somewhat later in development when compared to silk-reeling and cotton-spinning. In the twenty-ninth year of Meiji a law for the encouragement of ship-building was passed whereby that industry became prosperous; the policy of self-sufficiency in arms and ammunition was agreed upon at the same time whereby these industries came under the protection of the Government. After the Russo-Japanese War, the Navy adopted the policy of protecting the domestic construction of ships of war, and of making the supply of railway materials self-sufficient. Moreover, the decision was made for Government ownership and operation of the telephone and telegraph systems, the manufacture of the electric locomotives for the government railways, and the protection and fostering of industries producing electrical machinery.

Up to very recent times, Japan had suffered under the burden of unequal treaties imposed upon her by Western nations whereby her power to levy import duties was limited by treaties which fixed the rate at five per cent *ad valorem*. In the thirty-second year of Meiji revisions were made of these treaties and a part of the right to determine tariffs was regained. But it was only twelve years later that the right was completely recovered. Thus in the forty-fourth year of Meiji the rate of import duties was raised 5% over that of the first revision twelve years earlier, and the rate generally ranged between 15 and 20%, the highest being 60%. By virtue of regaining the tariff autonomy which made it possible for the Government to protect infant industries to the fullest extent, Japanese industries thus protected made a remarkable progress. After this marked advance was seen also in heavy industries and motive

power. The World War also gave a sudden impetus to Japanese industry. Taken as a whole, a remarkable advance was made in light industries; but in the field of heavy industries and the manufacture of precision instruments, Japan has not yet equalled the achievements of the more advanced Western nations, though in recent years marked advance is being made along these lines.



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Educational and Cultural Background of the Japanese People

Japanese civilization, up to recent times, has been the inheritance of the civilization of the Chinese continent. It has been, since the Meiji Restoration, radically modified by Western influence. Japanese culture, therefore, is often called a mere imitation of foreign cultures. Imitativeness, however, is not a quality peculiar only to Japan. For the culture of each European country has been modelled on that of the most civilized country of the Continent. Civilization, by its very nature, does not just "happen," but it is a perennial progress. It is the accumulation of all traditional cultures, and its progress is prompted by international inheritance.

Inheritance in this sense is an imitation. It is true that imitation is a social instinct, but the inheritance of civilization is not merely instinctive and mechanical inheritance. Rather, it is a process of inheriting the culture of past generations, of absorbing foreign cultures, and of creating a culture of its own out of this accumulation. Confucius said: "To search the old is to find the new." The wisdom of this adage, as far as civilization is concerned, embraces not only "the old" of one's own tradition, but equally "the old" of foreign inheritance. Our people have profited greatly from their foreign legacy, but as to whether or not they have been less ingenious than other peoples in creating a culture

of their own, you must judge for yourselves from the remarks I shall make later.

Another point to remember is that our study of a people's civilization is after all our attempt to know the national character of that people. Mutual understanding is not only prerequisite to international good-will, but it is also indispensable for the self-realization and cultivation of one's own character. It is the royal road we all must take. As with individuals, so with nations—contact with a superior character is indispensable for the refinement of one's own. At the beginning of the Meiji era, the Japanese people were busy importing things European. Those who pursued English scholarship gradually came to possess a character somewhat similar to "British" character and those trained in French scholarship were known to be a little "French." Of course, with their English or French taste, their soul remained purely Japanese. But the fact illustrates how comparatively well the Japanese "understood" the culture of foreign countries.

I am not asking you to become "Japanese" in order to appreciate our culture, but I do maintain that unless you understand our character you have not thoroughly understood our culture. The English in Carlyle was not dead simply because he appreciated German Kultur, but it is true that he possessed a more "German" character than most Englishmen. Nor is that a disgrace to Carlyle. Of course it is an entirely different question whether it is profitable for the British character to become Germanized.

It is for this reason that I propose here to approach our subject to-day—the background of the Japanese people—from the point of view of our national character. (The topic reads—cultural and educational background. But the cultural side alone is such

a comprehensive question that I am afraid the given time is not enough for even a rough outline. So I must beg your pardon for confining myself to-day to the cultural side of the issue, without going into the educational.)

If we expect foreigners to appreciate the peculiarities of Japanese civilization, we must first of all explain the difference between the spirit of our civilization and that represented by other nations. It is true that our culture is the heritage of foreign civilizations, but the Japanese people have shown in all aspects of their culture, from remotest times, that the spirit of it remains different. The first important lesson for foreign students of Japanese civilization is to appreciate fully this difference. But, as a matter of fact, its nature forbids any such ready understanding; on the contrary, it begins to be appreciated at the very last minute, or remains unappreciated throughout the entire course of their study. So difficult is the appreciation of this difference.

Let us cite a familiar example. Many Westerners seem not to enjoy such pieces of Japanese art as we would consider truly expressive of Japanese taste; they are apt to prefer what they call "things Asiatic," confusing with them things Japanese. The truth is, however, that Japanese aesthetic taste will have nothing to do with this "Orientalism." And there, in the difference between "Japanese" and "Oriental," and there alone, may be found the key to the spirit of Japanese civilization. Nothing sins against our aesthetic sensibility more than those cheap imitations labelled modern "Japanese" art objects which you find in hotels and elsewhere in Europe. To be sure, they have been exported from Yokohama. But "things from Yokohama" means in this country "Japanese things most un-Japanese." Many Westerners are inter-

ested in the very qualities that distinguish "un-Japanese" things from those truly "Japanese." And the Yokohama merchants are busy satisfying this unfortunate taste of Westerners by exporting "Japanese goods most un-Japanese," thus educating them to be unfeeling toward the real aestheticism of Japanese civilization. But it is impossible to explain the nature of this Japanese aestheticism, which is the very foundation of Japanese civilization, both material and spiritual.

Let us suppose we have two specimens in front of us—one of those Yokohama objects, and one piece of art that is truly Japanese. Are we able to explain to those who do not possess Japanese sensitiveness why the Yokohama piece is "un-Japanese?" It is a desperately difficult task, possible only after years of training. Even Westerners, if they have trained their tastes, can easily tell the difference; and born Japanese may not be able to do so if they have not had some training.

As it is impossible to define in so many *words* the nature of this Japanese aestheticism, let me cite a few familiar examples. And if you do not quite get the delicacy of it, you may convince yourselves that your case is hopeless.

The choice of colours in the dress of a Japanese woman, for instance, is determined by a feeling quite at odds with Western ideas of colour harmony. To appreciate her sensitivity to compound colours would be to discover the underlying mood of Japanese aestheticism.

Let us turn now to architecture. The pure essence of Japanese architecture is preserved only in the most classic of shrines and in our everyday houses. Temples and other large public buildings are built on foreign models—on the Chinese in olden times, and on

the Western nowadays. The beauty of well-defined lines and symmetry in pure Japanese architecture has attracted the attention of Western architects. Our taste in architecture is not limited to beauty of this kind; we are keenly sensitive to the surface of the raw wood itself. This feeling for the surface of wood is somewhat akin to the Europeans' feeling for old furniture; but it is more delicate, to the point of resembling the sensation of the skin of a human body. We value the naturalness and reality of wood. There is a fundamental disparity of taste between this and the Westerners' love for varnished mahogany.

Sometime ago I was visiting the Kensington Palace in London. In one of the rooms I remember actually seeing an imitation pillar—the lower part was real, but the upper part was only a picture of pillar carvings on a piece of wall paper. This was quite astonishing. In our country such a device as this is employed *only* on the stage. It would be too ridiculous to employ it in actual architecture. But to find it done in London, and that in a palace!!

“Natural” and “real” are the attributes of the spirit of Japanese civilization. This explains the absence of metaphysics in Japan. The women's preference for compound colours, and for natural curves in design rather than geometrical combinations, is explained also by the strong inclination of the Japanese people to the natural and real.

It is very important to remember this national characteristic when you study the spiritual side of our culture. In Japan there has been no metaphysics or conceptual philosophy, except what has been handed down to us, in the past, from China and India, and to-day, from Germany. Our inheritance in this case has been quite an unmodified one: we have not been able to develop or

enrich it. When we do claim to have naturalized a foreign heritage, we mean that we have remade it into something real and practical.

This naturalistic and realistic attitude of the Japanese is shown in ethics, literature and arts. The ultimate object of the Confucian ethics is the formation of the categorical consciousness. Confucius said: "One may die gladly in the evening, if he has learned of the right path in the morning." The word that is here translated as "path" is the all-inclusive word in Confucius' teachings; here it means the consciousness of ethical norms. But the instinctive ethical sense of our people allows for more naturalness and reality.

"Kami nagara no michi"—or the Way of the Gods—means the natural state of things. The Japanese Gods were not gods of absolute Right and Wrong but merely natural gods. The gods of blessing and the evil spirits were equally divine and revered as such. It is impossible to criticize the divine nature of all these gods on the basis of ethical norms. Not that it is impossible, but it is insignificant. In China, the consciousness of absolute, ethical norms was called "Tao" ("*Do*" in Japanese) or the "way" meaning a path or road. It may be observed that Chinese philosophy is also more or less practical, for the traveller's road is the figurative expression of the categorical consciousness of ethical principles.

On the other hand, Motoori Norinaga, the greatest classic scholar of the Tokugawa period, in interpreting the ethical principles of ancient Japan, denied this "*michi*" as the absolute ethical category, saying that *do* (or *michi*) meant only the road for men and vehicles to pass, and that there was no other *michi*. "*Do*" as an absolute norm was to him a Chinese abstraction. In order to prove the difference between the Japanese moral sense and the

Chinese, Motoori Norinaga pointed out the disagreement in the treatment of the same historical facts recorded in the *Kojiki* and the *Nihon Shoki*—the two historical documents compiled simultaneously at the Imperial Court in the Nara period. The *Kojiki* is a popular history of our ancestors' oral-traditions, told in their native language, but written in the Chinese characters borrowed for the *phonetic* purpose because they had no written language of their own. The *Nihon Shoki*, on the other hand, is written in Chinese, in the regular "history book" style. The latter, therefore, Motoori points out, has invented or distorted facts, to comply with the moral teachings of Confucianism. A good instance of this is found in the treatment of the incident of the Emperor Yuryaku's hunting. The *Kojiki* tells that the Emperor Yuryaku, on a hunting, was chased by a wild boar, and saved his life only by climbing a tree. This was the occasion of one of his poems, and the *Kojiki* records the poem. But according to the *Nihon Shoki*, the Emperor ordered his follower to kill the wild animal. Seeing that he was afraid to shoot the boar, the emperor himself kicked the animal to death, and proceeded to kill the cowardly follower himself. Remonstrated with by the empress, he forgave the follower and rejoiced in the kindness of his wife, saying, "now we shall go home, having hunted a word of goodness."

This illustrates how an historical fact was distorted in order to suit the moral conception of Confucianism. This attitude is described as "*Kara Gokoro*" or Chinese psychology, and the fidelity to fact in the *Kojiki* is "*Yamato Gokoro*" or Japanese psychology. This point of view of Motoori Norinaga's had never been conceived by his predecessors; it was a modern discovery of the traditional spirit of Japan.

Motoori was a classic scholar, a Japanese contemporary of Rousseau. It was a coincidence that when Motoori was advocating "Ancient Shinto," Rousseau was urging his people to "return to nature." And these two thinkers of the West and East were much alike in that they both discovered a modernism in returning to the old.

That naturalism has been characteristic of our civilization not only in recent times but from its earliest formative stages is amply verified by the attitude of the court-historians of the ancient times when there was no national literature.

Apropos of history, may I remind you that the Japanese of those days possessed a strangely dual attitude: under the influence of Chinese culture, they distorted and disguised the facts into a history in that spirit which Motoori has called "Chinese Spirit," while on the other hand, they compiled the *Kojiki* in the true Japanese spirit. What accounts for this curious fact that, in the same court, at the same time, were compiled two history books representative of two entirely opposing spirits?

It is a fair indication of the fact that when the people were being greatly influenced by foreign civilization, they were at the same time awakening to national consciousness. Also, the fact that they, though possessing national pride, went on making a history in the Chinese tradition, is a proof of their willingness to accept, under any spiritual circumstances, another people's culture superior to their own. This willingness has been one of the traditional characteristics of our people from the beginning of history; nor have we lost it to this day. Of course every self-governing nation has done the same—absorbing foreign cultures without the loss of its national consciousness.

But the Japanese people are a little different from other peoples in that they can be extremely conscious of themselves and at the same time quite respectful of foreign tradition. The pendulum amplitude of the two extremes is very wide. And it is especially remarkable that the two points of the pendulum do not represent two different ages, but the same age!—not that the people go to one extreme at one time and to another at another time, but they go to two opposite extremes at the same time! In this respect we are somewhat like the French. As I have already pointed out, the simultaneous composition of two history books—the *Kojiki* and *Nihon-Shoki*—is an illustration of this point. The same mingling of extremes is abundantly exemplified in the everyday life of Japan to-day. The Japanese have adopted whatever suited their peculiar case, digesting it well, but creating a culture of their own. This attitude was clearly seen in the earliest stages of Japanese literature, and has never been lost up to date.

Dr. Astor, for one, admits the unique position of women in Japanese literature; for no other literature of the world was initiated by women. But more than the establishment of a truly native literature through women writers—a thing unique in itself—it is rather the naturalistic tendency of these women that is truly unparalleled.

Naturalism and realism are commonly assumed to be the phenomena of modern literature. But exactly the same tendencies are present in the earliest literature of eleventh century Japan. Furthermore, they were not practised in any crude manner, either in expression or in content. Especially the *Genji Monogatari* is a naturalistic picture of the then aristocratic society, and Lady Murasaki, the author, has in her creative attitude a self-consciousness

that is remarkably similar to the attitude of consciousness in the writers of the Naturalist School since the Meiji era. Of course the expression of her literary theory is unsophisticated, but the theory itself hits the right mark. Lady Murasaki speaks through her hero, Genji, who definitely states that there are in literature two streams—naturalism and romanticism. I should like to discuss this at a greater length, quoting from the text, but within the given time I can only refer you to the seventh chapter “The Glow-Worm” in “A Wreath of Cloud,” the third part of *The Tale of Genji*. Why was Japanese literature initiated by women-writers? The answer must be found in the following circumstances:

During the period in question, the line of study for intellectual men was limited to the classics—that is Chinese. They all wrote in Chinese. But Chinese writing in ideography was too inconvenient for the naturalistic and realistic expression of Japanese thought. Thus, the men of that time did not possess the proper literary means of expressing naturally their thoughts and feelings.

But the women were in possession of a freer method of expressing themselves—that is, they were in the habit of using the *kana*, the phonetic letters, to write in more colloquial manner.

Besides, the culture of those days not being monopolized by either sex, men and women of the aristocracy had equal freedom to pursue their studies in foreign literature, religion and so on. Men were chiefly interested in the classics of India and China, while women extended the line of interests further than the classics into the field of popular literature such as *monogatari* and *soshi*. Accomplishment to them meant not only reading in this literature but also creating it for themselves. For this reason it was the women's undertaking to write stories and diaries, recording con-

temporary happenings both in public and private circles. This division of labour is accounted for by the fact that the use of *kana* was limited to women. This distinction had been observed for two centuries in the literary training of men and women until in the eleventh century Japanese literature first attained its full power in the *Tale of Genji*. This literary work, done by a woman, is of considerable importance, judged even by the highest criteria of all literature of all time. It is all the more remarkable for its realistic tendency, which is characteristic of the literature of modern times. It shows that naturalism and realism have been the traditional attitude of our people. Also, it may be inferred that the women of high society enjoyed liberal opportunities of culture, and that they lived in a fairly "political" atmosphere, though they had no actual part in statesmanship. Thus the women of that time were in a similar position that the intellectuals occupy to-day. They could both observe and criticize. And this is why the chronicle of the court life—such as the *monogatari* and diaries—was written primarily by women. If women in high society with a fair education did not try their hand at writing either stories or journals, they were rather exceptional cases. But only the best have survived. The voluminous *Eiga Monogatari*, which was also written by a woman toward the end of the twelfth century, has been handed down to this day as a vital supplement to official historical documents.

The beginnings of Japanese literature were prompted by the social system of those early days. It is natural, therefore, that our literature should reflect realistic tendencies, the peculiar attributes of our ethical system.

Let me call your attention to another point here. When one

surveys the formative and transitory stages of our literature, one discovers that the Japanese, while absorbing foreign traditions, have not lost their own, but created something of their own. The women pioneers of Japanese literature were all students of Chinese classics, but the literature they produced was quite independent of Chinese literature, both in construction, expression, and in idealism and moral sense. In short, it had an individuality which was purely Japanese. It is really surprising that these ladies who were themselves excellent scholars of Chinese classics wrote in a purely Japanese style not at all affected by the Chinese examples. This is all the more remarkable when one remembers how much European literature has affected contemporary literature—both in construction, expression, and morals. But the still more surprising fact is that the tradition that these ladies started in the eleventh century has run through Japanese literature of all time. Of course the dark warlike time of the middle ages was not conducive to literature, but the literature both of the late Tokugawa period and of modern Japan share the consistent note of naturalism and realism. True, there has been romantic literature, but the main current of Japanese writing has always been in the tradition of realism.

The authors themselves of such naturalistic works as the *Genji* which present the picture of a decadent world were morally austere women, as is inferred from their diaries. It may be remembered that many of the European naturalists whose writings reflect the darkest of decadent phenomena were men of critical judgment and high moral sense. That same Zola who turned our eye to the vile side of life was a zealous moralist. As Zola affirms the sociological motif of naturalist literature, so does Lady Murasaki testify to the social significance of the naturalist literature of

her time.

That both in morals and literature the Japanese have leaned toward nature and reality can be demonstrated still more clearly by looking at the oldest anthology of Japanese poetry—the *Manyōshū*. It is a collection of some five thousand poems by men and women of all classes from the early fourth century to the middle of the eighth. It is a remarkable fact in itself that at such an early date such a large anthology should have been made. But still more remarkable is the spirit in which the collection was done. For in this anthology are included poems by farmers and fishermen as well as those of the emperors, and in spite of the semi-official nature of its enterprise, the compilation was made from a purely artistic point of view, with no ethical bias in the matter of selection. It is one of the outstanding examples of that Japanese spirit I have been discussing. This tendency in literature is the principle that runs through every phase of our cultural life, finding expression in architecture, fine arts, industrial art and indeed, in various modes of our everyday life. But what is the cause of this peculiarity of our people? The answer seems to be the usual one of physical and social conditions. We have no time now to go into details of this issue; I shall simply give you the hint.

First the physical conditions of Japan. Geographically, the population is distributed from the arctic zone down to the semi-tropical zone. And from remotest times, that is before literature was even conceived in the land, there were economic and military communications between the two extremes. In other words, even geographically, the pendulum amplitude of Japan is very wide. But the heart of the country is in the temperate zone. Thus, the "multifarious mildness" of our climate has kept the people from

becoming either hot-tempered or cold-blooded, but made them a moderate people. Again, the atmosphere lacks the continental largeness, but has a garden-like mildness and gentleness. These conditions of climate and geography had long since turned the original hunters into peace-loving farmers, who early learned the art of agriculture. The farming scheme, too, conditioned by geographical and social circumstances, was not the large-scale serfdom, but a small-scale, family-like, intensive agriculture. The enlarging of one's personal property was early restricted; ancient codes had some clauses in reference to the practice.

In connection with the economic conditions that were fairly socialistic, as has just been pointed out, the political conditions in Japan have from ancient times been different from those of other countries in one vital respect. That is, from prehistoric times, the unification of the nation has not been accomplished by conquering heterogeneous races, hence there has been no opposition from outside powers as in the history of other peoples. It is true that in prehistoric times the Yamato tribe and the Izumo tribe stood in opposition to each other. But they were unified not by means of arms but by diplomatic negotiations. Of course this was due to the fact that they were not heterogeneous tribes, but of the same stock, taking opposite sides simply for political reasons. Japanese mythological traditions will have it that Japan was a closely knit family, and the historians are in agreement. Anthropologists seem to think that the Japanese are an intermixture of the races of a wide area covering Siberia, China, and the South Sea islands. But even in the earliest times the Japanese had become a united race. This is the reason for our belief that our ancestors possessed a higher civilization at an earlier date than is commonly attributed

to them. And this is the very reason why the introduction of Chinese culture did not cause any revolutionary changes.

Thus, racial opposition and strife, so common in the history of many a country, have been quite unknown to Japan. And there is no record in history of her ever being conquered by another race. Political antagonism in Japan has always been internal, as in modern states, and never more than the strife of clans. Even military rivalries in ancient times did not result in the conquered being forced into slavery, a very common practice elsewhere. Though feudal lords exercised their independent authority in all parts of the country, there was the final and absolute Power which was vested in the Imperial Family in the person of the Emperor who presided over all feudal lords and received their joint homage. In brief, whenever there was military opposition in Japanese history, the rivals were equally under the absolute authority of the Inviolable One, just as in the world of sports to-day, all competitions are under the control of the umpire.

Thus, under all conditions, physical, social and political, Japan has been free from extremes. There has never been any real racial opposition within; large-scale slavery has never existed; and accumulation of huge wealth, as seen in modern powers, has been unknown. It is quite conceivable that all these external conditions have tended to stamp the people with their national characteristics. And the knowledge of all this is indispensable to a proper understanding of the character of Japanese civilization. As an illustration of this point, let us see how these conditions have affected our styles of construction.

Our taste in architecture has been more exacting in quality, than in quantity of labour. (Another instance of the workings of

external conditions). Huge constructions of ancient empires whose pride was the waste of man-power, highly overwrought architecture suggestive of scholasticism in philosophy—all that has been foreign to the Japanese. Simplicity, moderation and humility have been the virtue and taste of our life, and it is the same in the case of our architecture. To the Japanese there has been an ethical code in building. This does not refer to the regulations in compliance with the caste system. It had nothing to do with one's social status; nay, it was rather the noble and the rich who felt themselves bound by this ethical code in architecture. Magnificent palaces like Shih-huang-ti's of the Ts'in Dynasty or those of Egypt and Babylonia have never been dreamed of. The reason for the absence of huge palaces is to be found in a custom of ancient times; that is, in early Japan, the custom was that each new Emperor had a new palace constructed for him.

Large-scale slavery which was a common practice among ancient peoples never existed in our country. There were serfs, but only on a very minor scale; for our ancestors never attempted imperialistic conquest-schemes. In Japan, moreover, there was no distinction between good citizens and slaves as there was in ancient Greece; for instance, as mentioned in Aristotle's *Politics*. So when farmers were employed for great construction, it was a cause of much inconvenience and disturbance. How does this contrast with the construction of a pyramid, as described by Herodotus, which took twenty years and wasted a total number of twenty million men? In Japan people resented being employed for the smallest construction, if it was not a public enterprise.

The Japanese taste in architecture does not respond to such imposing largeness, and our preference in architecture is thought

to have been affected by social conditions. Not only do we despise the imposing effect of stateliness, but we have no sympathy for elaborate workmanship which is a sheer waste of energy. So it is that one finds in Japanese shrines and houses no such complicated carving as one would find in Chinese or European architecture. We dislike intricacy because it mars the natural and the real. For an explanation of this, let us take English architecture. Washington Irving has described the ceiling of the Henry the Seventh Chapel in the Westminster Abbey in such vivid terms that it is often quoted in guide-books:

“On entering, the eye is astonished by the pomp of architecture, and the elaborate beauty of sculptured detail. Stone seems, by the cunning labour of the chisel, to have been robbed of its weight and density, suspended aloft, as if by magic, and the fretted roof achieved with the wonderful minuteness and airy security of a cobweb.”

My reaction to the Chapel was similar to Irving's. The tone of it is the diametrical opposite of the tone of Japanese architecture. Stone is not used in building; other building materials are used in their natural state in what we value and praise as their natural quality. Our taste does not allow for such elaborate artificiality as would make stone seem “robbed of its weight and suspended aloft” in the air like a cobweb. Such a practice is called in Japan “Killing the Material,” meaning “sacrifice of naturalness and reality.” Even in India and China granite and other stones are worked upon until they look basket-like and netlike. This is quite unthought of in Japan.

Wood must look like wood, and stone must remain natural stone. Not only that but *hinoki* must always be *hinoki* and *sugi*

must present its most natural appearance. But this is not all; the position of a given wood has been seriously considered and now we have traditional rules of where to place each kind of wood. Thus what we admire in architecture is not that which quantity of labour can produce, but that delicate and simple product which only trained labour can yield. Indeed, it is simple, but quality of labour alone can produce work of studied simplicity. For instance in finishing a pillar, one skilful shave of the plane may cause the surface of the wood to reveal its fullest beauty. All the elbow-grease necessary for shaping stone into a cobweb is quite unnecessary. But a carpenter whose one stroke of the plane can give a perfect finishing touch to the wood-surface must have spent dozens of years of apprenticeship.

From this one instance you may be able to tell the fundamental difference between Japanese architecture and Chinese or European architecture.

As external conditions have determined our taste in architecture, they have also determined our national character itself. They have helped level the cultural position of our people. Ancient Japanese were able to write poetry of equally artistic value regardless of their social status—nobles, warriors, farmers and fishermen and all. (This can be seen in the *Manyōshū*.) This equality, culturally at least if not socially, is supposed to have lasted as late as the Middle Ages. Even to-day the great majority of poets are not professional men of letters, but amateurs from every walk of life. It has been customary even among men of comparatively little education to write poetry, and it happens sometimes, as we learn from the papers, that some criminals compose *tanka* as Oscar Wilde in jail wrote *De Profundis*.

As far as the *tanka* and *haiku* are concerned, the majority of our people are poets. This may be taken as an evidence of the possibly low position of the *tanka* and *haiku* as forms of literature. However high a form of art may be, its development has always depended upon the sympathy of the masses. That social conditions led to an equal participation of the noble and plebeian in poetry-composition seems to point to an equal standard of artistic accomplishment of the Japanese in general. As the social system has evolved, our economic balance has been disturbed; but the fact that until only half a century ago the best art was appreciated and enjoyed by high and low was entirely due to this well-balanced social system. Artisans and labourers showed a high aesthetic sense. It would be unthinkable to expect Sir Henry Irving's lines to be imitated by a working man in the street in England. In Japan, however, it has not been uncommon to hear from the mouth of a mere labourer lines of the best actors in their exact original intonation and articulation. Is this because the highest of our art is plebeian in the last analysis? Or is it because the best of our art has come from the people? The question is for you to answer.

It is observed that our people in general, and not the professional artists, possess an artistic disposition. No people, I believe, exact so much art out of everyday family life as we do. The tea-ceremony and flower-arrangement are necessary parts of the accomplishment of all women of the middle and upper classes. We tend, in other words, to create art out of the inartistic aspects of life.

The *cha-no-yu* is really the mode of everyday tea-drinking turned into an art. As such, it is an art of the common people. The spirit of the art of *cha-no-yu* may be summarized as the purification of daily life, and the requisites of purification are

simplicity, serenity, calm and cleanliness. Though it may appear to be a too conventionalized system of behaviour and too rigidly bound by rules to be called an art, it leads to a state of true freedom and escape from the common rut of life. The *cha-no-yu* is, in the last analysis, an art that restrains the freedom of daily life into a rigid system of fixed movements, to be perfected as an art only when the true freedom of everyday life is regained out of the very rigidity of rules.

Purely Japanese athletics have also been turned into art. They are neither mere physical exercise nor contests. True Japanese athletics is a systematized artistic motion composed of movements with beautiful curves. Among the athletics of Ancient Greece there were aesthetic exercises such as discus-throwing. But they cannot be compared to Japanese sports in the completeness with which the latter have been made an art. In purely Japanese athletics, as in the dance and *Noh* all elements are literally artistic — costume, language, movement and so on. This is true of fencing, archery, *yabusame* (horseback-archery) and *kemari* (a football game). In old Japan fencing and all other martial arts were called "*geijutsu*." This is the Japanese equivalent of English "art" as applied to the drama, music and dance. The word "*geijutsu*" in our vocabulary has exactly the same meaning, but in our ancestors' vocabulary it was a term inclusive of all martial arts as well as fine arts. In the East, as is shown in the *Raiki*, a Confucian scripture, art in the larger sense embraces aesthetics and ethics. And the Japanese understood martial arts in this sense, that is, as physical culture, artistic and spiritual training—all in one. This interpretation of martial arts originated in China, where however it had weakened by the eighteenth century and is dead to-day.

But in Japan they have been highly developed and continued to the present day. Though military arts are not practised as a form of spiritual and aesthetic training as thoroughly now as in the Middle Ages, they are by no means dead and gone.

For instance, even to-day the law of archery insists on *reisha*, that is the elegant and punctilious way of shooting with such dramatic movements as in the *Noh*. Emphasis is laid on the artistic and ethical effects of the whole act of shooting. The fundamental creed of archery is embodied in the following passage of the *Raiki*:

"In archery, all bodily movements—stepping forward and backward, turning and re-turning—must be in accordance with *rei* (or the spiritual code of chivalry). Only when the man's mind is pure and his body erect will his pose be just and steady with the bow and arrow. And, however straight the arrow may hit the mark, if the shot was attempted without this correct pose, the arrow has not truly hit the mark. The correctness of his pose is the expression of the strength of his virtue."

The classical spirit of China which has taught us that accomplishment of military arts must finally be the perfection of virtue has been dead in China itself now for some centuries, but in our country it has survived, and even to-day the ethics of martial arts is much discussed in the books of physical culture.

Although in historical documents the first communication of Japan and Chosen is dated to the first century A. D., historians to-day believe that the peoples of Japan and the peninsula had already had some intercourse for several centuries, and that through this channel the Japanese came under the influence of continental culture. Had it not been for this introductory process, the high development of our culture after the sixth and seventh centuries

would have been impossible. The best of the ancient culture of Japan has thus come down to this day uninterrupted, as the country has remained free from any foreign conquests. Unlike China, India and the countries of Central Asia, where the development of civilization was suspended, Japan has cherished the tradition in its fullest development through the ages. That is one of the characteristics of Japanese civilization. And that is why the peculiarities of our culture which I have illustrated from the classics are essentially true in present-day Japan.

I presume that some of you here to-day have a profound knowledge of Japanese culture and hold opinions different from mine. Even among ourselves the essential quality of the civilization of Japan is not always fully understood. Consequently there has recently been felt a tendency to re-examine what is our own. We invite and welcome, therefore, studies of the subject by foreigners from *their* point of view.



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THE SAKURADA AFFAIR

By Ernest W. Clement. Read April 21, 1920

Doubtless, most, if not all, of us are inclined to pass along the streets of Tokyo without thinking of the historic associations of places. There are, it is true, some spots which have a well known and definite historic interest, such as the temple called Sengakuji, with the tombs of the famous Forty-Seven Ronin. But, there are other places, the historic memories of which have been obscured or even obliterated by the lapse of time and the march of modern civilization. We think of Uyeno now in connection with cherry blossoms, or the conservatory of music, or the museum, or an ephemeral exhibition: and we are not likely to recall the facts that on July 4, 1868, it was the site of a battle between the forces of the last Shogun and the Imperial Army; and that it was the Abbot of Kwaneiji, a Buddhist temple at Uyeno, whom the Tokugawa put up as a rival of the late Emperor, Meiji Tenno. Here and there, throughout the city of Tokyo, we may find Buddhist temples, like Tozenji and Zempukuji, which once provided shelter for the ambassadors of Western nations and were the scenes of fierce attacks by the anti-foreign ronin. The present arsenal at Suido-bashi was the site of one of the three Mito Yashiki in Yedo; the First Higher School is the site of another Mito Yashiki, and now marks its historic character with a monument in honor of Shu Shunsui, a Chinese Ming scholar who took refuge with the famous Mito Prince, Mitsukuni (or Giko) in the 17th Century. The Imperial University is located in the grounds of the old Kaga Yashiki of the mighty Maeda family.

To-day, I want to remind you that, if you board a tram-car at the foot of this hill and go as far as you can in a direct but not exactly straight line north, you will make the first sharp turn at Sakurada Mon, or Sakurada Gate. You may know it only from sad experiences as one of the most difficult places to make a transfer, if you are bound for Bancho or Aoyama, since those cars have already filled up to their full capacity (or beyond) at the previous stop at Hibiya Park! At almost the very spot where you stand waiting for a chance to get on a car was the scene, just sixty years ago today (by the old lunar calendar) of an important incident in Japanese history. It is known as the Sakurada Affair.

It occurred on the old lunar calendar 3rd day of the 3rd month, the date of the famous "Girls' Festival," or "Dolls' Festival," which fell that year (1860) on March 24 (not March 23rd or 25th, as stated in various accounts). (But this year it falls on April 21). That festival is one of the Five Festivals (Go-Sekku), which came on the 1st day of the 1st month, the 3rd day of the 3rd month, the 5th day of the 5th month, the 7th of the 7th month, and the 9th day of the 9th month (all old calendar). It was the custom of the Tokugawa Shogunate to hold a kind of levee in the castle of Yedo on each of these festivals. As March 24 was so near the Spring Equinox, it is not strange that a storm of sleet and snow was raging. From that circumstance, as well as from the fact that the principal participants in the affair did not survive to write up the story with all the embellishments of a modern newspaper, it is a little difficult to ascertain with certainty the details of what did happen. The best that can be done is to piece together several versions of the tragedy. [See Note A.]

The chief victim of this tragic affair was Ii Naosuke, Kamon-no-Kami, Lord of Hikone, Tairo (literally, "Chief Elder"), that is, Prime Minister of the Shogun, who was a minor, and, since the Emperor was merely a figure-head, practically the Regent of Japan. He had dared to negotiate a treaty of amity and commerce with the American Consul-

General, Townsend Harris, and to have it signed July 29, 1858, without waiting for the Imperial approval; and he had followed this up by making similar treaties with Holland, Russia, Great Britain and France. In "Mito Yashiki" (p. 263), it is expressed as follows:

"He defied the conservative element in the land, and, metaphorically speaking, snapped his fingers in the face of the Emperor himself."

Lloyd, in "Every-Day Japan" (p. 151), expresses it a little more mildly, in the following words: "Like Nelson at the Battle of the Baltic, he put the telescope to his blind eye, and refused to see the frantic signals of recall which the Imperial Court at Kyoto was making to him."

All this had brought down upon him the wrath of the ultra-Imperialists under the lead of Nariaki, the Old Prince of Mito, who, on account of his autocratic manners and methods, had dubbed him the "swaggering Prime Minister." He knew that he was marked for death whenever a favorable opportunity should present itself; he had been advised by a friend to resign and thus avoid danger. He only replied: "My own safety is nothing, when I see great danger threatening my country." Even that very morning, he had been warned again; but, like Julius Caesar, he paid no attention to the prophesied dangers of his "Ides of March," but went out to his fate.

Ii's mansion was situated on the hill about where the War Department and General Staff Office are now located. It was, therefore, only a little way that he had to go in his palanquin to the Shogun's Castle. Even for that short distance he was escorted by a retinue of retainers both for display and for protection. And, as the retinues escorting other lords, coming from other directions, all had to converge upon the same spot, it produced more or less confusion, which, added to the storm then raging, made a stage setting eminently suited to carrying out the conspiracy to a successful issue.

The other chief actors in this tragedy were eighteen Samurai, seventeen of Mito and one of Satsuma, all ronin.*

The available reports of this affair are more or less colored according to sympathy with one side or the other; or are purposely indefinite and obscure to avoid offending one party or the other. In fact, there is, in many points, what appears to be "doctored" evidence. Yet we may be able to construct a story that gives a good general idea of the "Sakurada Affair."

One thing seems to be pretty clear, that when Lord Ii in his palanquin had reached a certain pre-arranged spot, a few persons, who had apparently been idly hanging around there for the mere purpose, a common one, of watching the various feudal trains go by, rushed out in front of the Ii retinue. It was, of course, a very rude performance to break into the progress of daimyo, as the Englishman Richardson learned to his sorrow two years later at Namamugi near Tsurumi. It would seem that the rush of Ii's retainers to avenge this affront left Ii's palanquin comparatively unprotected, so that others of the assaulting party were able to reach the palanquin without much difficulty. The attackers had easily divested themselves of the straw rain-coats or other means with which they had been disguised to look like innocent by-standers. But Ii's retainers, taken so completely by surprise, were, some of them, slain before they could divest themselves of the coverings with which they had protected their armor and weapons from the storm. Consequently, the unarmed Lord of Hikone fell an easy victim to his fierce assailants.

According to one report, the men who succeeded in reaching Ii first demanded of him an explanation of his conduct and engaged in a discussion with him concerning the right and wrong of his policy, and then assassinated him. But, while such a procedure was quite in accord with the conventionalities with which a vendetta was performed in those feudal days (compare the procedure of the Forty-seven Ronin), yet, in this

* See "Mito Civil War," Vol. XIX. Pt. 2., T.A.S.J.

case, it seems unlikely that there was time enough for such a formality. A counter-attack by some friendly Tokugawa retainers, or by those of the Shogun himself, was altogether too imminent to allow such a diversion, however interesting it might be.

There are also contradictory reports concerning the disposition made of II's head. One statement is that the man who started off with it was unable to effect his escape and was compelled to take refuge from his pursuers in the moat, where he was finally permitted unmolested to commit harakiri in the orthodox fashion. It seems much more likely that he ran off with a decoy head, while, by a prearranged plan, the man with the real head of the high victim succeeded in effecting his escape. It is stated that II's head was carried to Mito and exhibited to his old rival, Nariaki, who is said to have gloated over it and spat upon it. But the Mito adherents deny the truth of that report.

It is also affirmed, with much more plausibility that the head was taken to Kyoto and publicly exposed there with the inscription, "This is the head of a traitor who has violated the most sacred laws of Japan—those which forbid the admission of foreigners into the country," then carried back to Yedo and cast one night into the grounds of the Hikone Yashiki.

One of the most interesting features of this affair illustrates one of the curious old customs of Feudal Japan. It was an unwritten law that the estate of a daimyo who suffered death violently and away from home would be either confiscated or reduced. It was, therefore, necessary to avoid such disgrace by officially concealing the exact truth. Hence according to Dickson's "Japan" (p. 438), the principal gentleman in the late Regent's service reported as follows: "This morning while my master was on his way to the *shiro* (castle) to pay his respects to the Shogun, an attack was made upon his train. In the scuffle one man was killed, and the servants of II brought the body to the house here." That is certainly a remarkable

example of the way in which the fact can be told and yet the truth concealed. And this fiction was maintained by the Shogun's officials in their reports to the foreign representatives in Yedo. Alcock, who was then the British Minister to Japan, reports as follows in "The Capital of the Tycoon" (p. 348): "To my inquiries after his (Ii's) health and offers of surgical aid from the Legation, the Ministers for many days merely returned civil messages, declining the assistance, and giving bulletins of his health informing me, truly enough, that 'he was not worse!'"

Even more astounding is the statement made in Dickson's "Japan" (pp. 439-440), that Ii himself wrote to the Shogun to the effect: "I proposed going to the levee at the palace and was on my way there; when near the Sakurada Gate and in front of the joint guard of Matsudaira Osumi-no-Kami and Uesugi, about twenty men were collected. They began to fire pistols, and afterwards with swords attacked me in my norimono. My servants thereupon resisted and killed one of the men—the others ran off and escaped. Having received several wounds, I could not pay my intended visit to the Shogun and was obliged to return to my house. Now I send the names of such of my servants as were wounded."

It is also reported in Dickson's "Japan" (p. 440) that "upon receiving intelligence of this attack, the Shogun sent to the Regent a present of ginseng root and to inquire more particularly as to his health and condition."

According to another old custom of the vendetta, poems had been worked with the needle upon coats left by the assassins. One poem said: "Let us take and hoist the silken standard of Japan and first go and fight the battles of the emperor." Another read: "My corpse may dry up with the flowers of the cherry, but how can the spirit of Japan relax?" (Dickson's "Japan," p. 440).

According to still another old feudal custom, the assailants issued a statement giving their reasons for the deed. This is

summed up in Satow's translation of "Kinsei Shiriaku, (p. 16) in the following terms :

"They accused him, firstly, of possessing himself of the person of the young Shogun and of dismissing and appointing officials as his own selfish objects suggested ; secondly, of receiving enormous bribes and granting private favors ; thirdly, of having driven away the Princes of Owari, Mito and Echizen, thereby depriving the Shogun of the support of those who were most nearly allied to him by blood ; fourthly, of having deluded His Highness Kujo, by means of Manabe Shimosa-no-Kami, and Sakai, the Shogun's Resident (in Kyoto), besides confining Prince Josen-In and many Court nobles, and putting a number of samurai and common people to death ; and fifthly, of being frightened by the empty threats of the foreign barbarians into concluding treaties with them without the sanction of the Mikado, and under the pretext of political necessity. These five crimes being such as neither the gods nor men could pardon, they, as the representatives of divine anger, had chastised him." [See Note B.]

It is not without interest to take notice of the excuses made by certain persons for not interfering with the vendetta. For instance, when the commander of the guard was asked why he allowed "men in disguise with small sleeves and drawn swords," to pass his guard and loiter about, he replied : "There was a heavy fall of snow at the time. I noticed the men once, and they disappeared ; but I acknowledge my fault—I am much to blame in the matter. But what shall I do now ? Shall I cut off my men's heads ?" Another replied to a similar query as follows : "This morning at 9 o'clock many men passed, but whether they were porters or soldiers, I cannot tell. Several passed with blood-stained swords in their hands. I was on the point of arresting them, but, as there was much snow falling, I could not see them distinctly, or where they went."

It is also interesting to see how Mito was able to absolve himself from all responsibility, as shown by the following letter to the Shogun: "I am told that some men who were formerly in my service, but who were dismissed, have gone this morning to the Sakurada Gate and killed Ii Kamon-no-Kami. They appear to have gone to Hosokawa, wishing that he would take them into his employ. A messenger from Hosokawa has brought me this information. I am very sorry; it has caused me much distress. I could not employ so many servants and was obliged to reduce my establishment, while some men who would not obey me went away of their own accord. On this account I am unable to arrest or punish such men, and must trust to the servants of the Shogun doing so, while I must try to find those who have absconded. But the Shogun is powerful while I am comparatively powerless; I, therefore, beg the assistance of the Shogun."

It will not be considered out of place, I am sure, for me to add here the simple statement that, while the Mito Ronin thus wreaked vengeance upon the man who had heaped indignities upon their Old Prince, it was only a few months that the latter survived to enjoy his triumph. For he died in September 1860, and is said, by an unproven rumor, to have been poisoned by the Bakufu (Shogunate) party. His death took place also on a festival day, the 15th day of the 8th month, old calendar, when, by immemorial custom the Japanese people flock to the parks and other public places or to special localities to view the silvery autumn (or harvest) moon. But, even to their death, the faithful surviving vassals of Nariaki used to shut themselves up in their houses and refuse to desecrate the memory of their master by indulging in the merry pastime of *tsukimi* (moon-viewing). He received the posthumous name of Rekko (Orderly Prince).

It remains now to consider the effects of the assassination of Ii; and, in that connection, to say something about his life and work. Iyenaga says that "his family was called the Dodai or foundation-stone of the power of the Tokugawa dynasty";

and characterizes him as "bold, ambitious, able and unscrupulous," "the Richelieu of Japan." In "Lord Ii Naosuke and New Japan" (p. 53), it is expressed as follows: "The Ii family was the pillar, so to speak, of the Tokugawa Shogunate." If Ii was really the kind of man that is pictured for us by many writers, it was evidently a good thing that he was removed from the scene of action.

But we must also give him due credit for what he had done, and may well quote the words of Gubbins, as follows: "There can be little doubt that the Regent's direction of affairs greatly assisted the work of reopening Japan to foreign intercourse." We should also quote a sentence from "Lord Ii Naosuke and New Japan" (p. 182), as follows: "Thus it was Lord Ii who laid the foundation of Yokohama, which today stands a grand monument to that statesman's foresight." The book from which that quotation is made was itself published in connection with the unveiling of the statue of Ii at Yokohama in 1909, the fiftieth anniversary of the opening of that port to foreign trade. And it was one of the interesting revenges of history, as we may learn from the same book (p. 39), that, while Ii Naotake was one of the elder councillors of the Shogunate in 1639 and signed the ordinance which closed Japan for over two hundred years, it was Ii Naosuke, a direct descendant, who assumed the leading role in the drama of doing away with this selfsame policy of exclusion and of opening the country to foreign commerce at the sacrifice of his own life. And it is supremely appropriate that the statue, or monument, of Ii Naosuke Kamon-no-Kami should stand on Nogeyama in Yokohama, which is itself a monument in his honor.

There is another important phase of this part of our theme; and that concerns the relation of Ii to the Shogunate. In "A Life of Mr. Yukichi Fukuzawa" (p. 42), it is stated that "his death was an irreparable blow to the Tokugawa Government." Gubbins says (p. 118) that "after his death the fall of the Shogunate was only a question of time." In "The Awakening of Japan" (p. 137), Okakura expresses it more

poetically in the following words: "The icy structure of Tokugawa tyranny melted away like the snows of Sakurada beneath the warm blood of the devoted ronins." Fukuchi, in "Bakufu Suiboron," or "The Decline and Fall of the Shogunate," writes as follows: "What an evil day the 3rd of the 3rd month of the 1st year of Manen (March 24, 1860) was to the Shogunate! The death of the Tairo, the adviser of the Shogun, by the hand of assassins, proved to be a fatal blow to the administration." "How unexpected it was that the death of the Tairo so suddenly precipitated the downfall of the Shogunate!" *

It may not be unfair to state that the removal of Ii might naturally have retarded the process of the development of foreign relations—a process which, indeed, did move very slowly after his death. And yet it is difficult to "guess" what might have been, had Ii lived longer. Instead therefore, of wasting time upon surmises, let us note rather what did happen.

Gubbins, in the book previously cited, writes (p. 124) as follows: "The deaths of the two rival statesmen (Ii and Mito) may have had the effect of diminishing to some extent the bitterness of party feeling, but it is doubtful if the country was the gainer in the end. Their removal from the scene left Japan without any master mind to control a difficult situation," And, as already noticed, the loss of Ii was fatal to the Shogunate, which needed to be overthrown in the interests of national unity. It may, therefore, be said that both Ii's life and death contributed to the similar ends of opening and unifying Japan.

* See also Note C.

NOTES

A

There are, of course, brief allusions to the Sakurada Affair in all histories of Japan. There are short accounts in such works as Satow's English version of "Kinsei Shiriaku" and "Genji Yume Monogatari"; Lloyd's "Every Day Japan"; Black's "Young Japan"; Morsman's "New Japan"; Reed's "Japan"; Adams's "History of Japan"; Trent's "Early Diplomatic Relations between the United States and Japan"; and Heco's "Narrative of a Japanese." Longer and better reports and comments (on the Affair) may be found in "Agitated Japan," which is the English version (Henri Satoh's) of Shimada's "Kaikoku Shimatsu" Akimoto's English version of Nakamura's "Lord Ii Naosuke and New Japan"; Alcock's "Capital of the Tycoon"; "The Progress of Japan, 1853-1871," by Gubbins; Dickson's "Japan"; and Maclay's novel, "Mito Yashiki," which, with the addition of the fancies of fiction, yet gives a very vivid description of the Sakurada Affair, with its background.

B

The substance of the principal paper, according to "Agitated Japan" (pp. 137-140), is as follows:

While [we are] fully aware of the necessity for some change in policy since the coming of the Americans to Uraga, it is entirely against the interest of the country and a shame to the sacred dignity of the land to open commercial relations, to admit foreigners into the castle, to conclude a treaty, to abolish the established custom of trampling on the picture of Christ, to permit foreigners to build places of worship of their evil religion, Christianity, and to allow the three Ministers* to reside in the land. Under the excuse of keeping

* American, British and French.

the peace, too much compromise has been made at the sacrifice of national honor. Too much fear has been shown in regard to the foreigners' threatenings. Not only has the national custom been set aside, and the national dignity injured, but the policy followed by the Shogunate has no Imperial sanction. For all these acts the Tairo Baron Ii Kamon-no-Kami is responsible.

Taking advantage of the youth of the Shogun, he has assumed unbridled power. In order to effect his own end, his autocracy has gone so far as to confine, under false charge, the Princes and Barons who would be faithful and loyal to the cause of the Imperial Cabinet and the Shogunate. He has proved himself an unpardonable enemy of this nation. The power of government in his hands will be too dangerous for the harmonious relation of the Imperial Cabinet and the Shogunate, for he has gone so far as to interfere with the Imperial succession. Our sense of patriotism could not brook this abuse of power at the hands of such a wicked rebel.

Therefore, we have consecrated ourselves to be the instruments of Heaven to punish this wicked man, and we have assumed on ourselves the duty of putting an end to a serious evil by killing this atrocious autocrat. Our conduct, however, does not indicate the slightest enmity to the Shogunate. We swear before Heaven and earth, gods and men, that our action is entirely built on our hope of seeing the policy of the Shogunate resume its proper form and abide by the holy and wise will of His Majesty the Emperor. We hope to see our national glory manifested in the expulsion of foreigners from the land. Thus will the whole nation be established on a basis as firm and unmoveable as Mount Fuji itself.

Dated, 3rd month, 7th year of Ansei [1860].

Signed by Hasuda and sixteen others.*

* * * * *

* The Satsuma man did not sign the paper.

And when some of the survivors who had surrendered themselves were asked by the judges to give in writing their reasons for killing the Regent, their answer was as follows * :
 "We have good reasons. From the time of Jimmu Tenno to the present day the Japanese nation has never received any insult from a foreign nation ; now five foreign nations have made treaties, and all through the Empire the people are angry and sorry and vexed. If he does not care for this, he makes himself an enemy to the nation, and therefore we killed him. We have no other reason."

* * * * *

And in still another statement, made to Hosokawa Etchuno-Kami, may be found the following sentences † : "For some time we argued with the Go-Tairo. We told him that he was a bad man. We spake to him about foreigners coming to the country, about the export of gold, about his receiving money as bribes from foreigners."

* * * * *

At that time, "the streets of Yedo were placarded with squibs against the party of the late Regent and those in favor of foreigners. One of these accused the late Gotairo of enriching himself by foreign trade at the expense of the people of Japan, and others were obscure allusions to the founder of the family. Another, by turning the characters of his name upside down, makes of it : 'A [gentleman's] head swept away is very good.' " ‡ [*Kami no kesu nao ii* from *Ii Naosuke no Kami*].

C

It is interesting, in this connection, to note further comments made upon "The Sakurada Affair" by Fukuchi in his "Decline and Fall of the Shogunate" (Chap. XIII), from which we make the following extracts :—

"There are so many accounts of the Sakurada Affair, that the author scarcely feels the necessity of repetition, nor can he

† * Dickson's "Japan," p. 445.

‡ " " " p. 448.

to-day bear to recall the cruel deed. Most of the assassins were Mito *ronin*. The reasons for their assassination of Ii, according to documents found on their persons, were something like the following: first, his arbitrary action in signing the treaties without Imperial sanction; second, his opening of three ports to commerce, and his granting residence to foreigners in Yedo; third, his arrest and cruel punishment of the supporters of the *Sonjo** principle who were implicated in the secret edict given to Mito; and fourth, his punishment of nobles, barons and government officials who were of prominent families upon the pretext of the same offense. But, in reality, the things which most offended that party were, doubtless, the confinement of the old Mito Prince and the failure to appoint Hitotsu-bashi as the Shogun's heir. Ii Tairo was probably worthy the name of one of the greatest statesmen; he was a hero of the last days of the Tokugawa Government, a man of daring and prompt decision; he took all responsibility for the welfare of the country upon himself, and boldly carried out what he believed to be best for the nation in defiance of public opinion and at the risk of his own life. The author would not hesitate to count him as one of the most noted prime-ministers of the Tokugawa Government. Yet, in spite of all these merits, his actual work shows not a few blunders in the course of his career as Tairo. He was stubborn in doing business; confided in the wrong persons; appointed a young and undeveloped boy as the Shogun's heir instead of a wiser and older prince, in a critical time; dismissed some Shogunate relatives, barons and officials who were men of ability; was very haughty, delighted in arbitrary rule; drove away those who were not agreeable to him, and dealt with political criminals too severely. It may be hard to answer the public charge that he wielded political power by taking advantage of the youthfulness of his master [Shogun].

"As to calling the assassins 'ruffians' [*bôto*], it may be necessary to add here a few words. In all probability, they

* Abbreviation of *Sonno Joi*.

felt not a particle of personal resentment against Ii and accomplished their bloody work in broad daylight at the sacrifice of their own lives. It was nothing but a political affair. In particular, these men have been not only pardoned for their crime, on the ground that they were declared to have done good service in the reforms of the Meiji Era, but they have also been ranked among 'loyal retainers'; and in the history of Meiji their deed is actually recognized as a magnificent achievement. And yet the author has called them 'ruffians' and may incur the displeasure of some critics. He is himself conscious that the use of the word 'ruffians' is unjustifiable in one sense; but, in writing a history of the Shogunate and discussing it fully historians should not consider at all the Meiji Government, or change their opinions on account of the existence of the Meiji Government. They must put themselves in the place of the Bakufu and become of the Bakufu, to understand its real condition, make a straight-forward statement, and reach the right conclusion. Therefore, let historians call the assassins 'righteous men' or 'loyal retainers,' or eulogize them with whatever glorious terms they wish in writing the history of the Meiji Reformation; yet, in writing the history of the Bakufu, it is their duty to make a clear and positive statement, that those men who murdered the prime minister of the government were 'ruffians' or evil-doers. Take, for example, the cases of the assailants of Iwakura at Kuichigai of Akasaka [1874], or of Okubo at Kioizaka [1878], or of those who attacked the English representative [Sir Harry Parker] in Kyoto [1868] on his way to the Imperial audience, or of the man who just the other day [1891] attempted to kill the Czar-wich of Russia. What have the historians who have written the histories of the Meiji Era called them? Have they not called them 'ruffians?' If so, what is the difference between those who killed the *Sangi* Okubo at Kioizaka and those who murdered the *Tairo* Ii of the Shogunate at Sakurada; or between those who wounded the *Udaijin* Iwakura of the Meiji Government at Kuichigai and those who attacked the *Go-rojiu*

Ando of the Shogunate Government [1862] at Sakashita? There is no difference whatever in the eyes of historians; and yet some are looked upon as ruffians, while others considered righteous men. Is that right? Those who threatened or assassinated government officials; those who committed murder under the name of 'the punishment of heaven'; those who schemed to create foreign complications by injuring or killing foreigners; those who attacked or burned foreign legations (without mentioning the Sakurada and Sakashita Affairs):—all these men and their deeds, the author, attempting to write the history of the decline and fall of the Shogunate, calls plainly 'ruffians' and 'outrages,' [*bōkyō*] no matter what words of praise the Meiji historians may give to them. Not only that, the author is willing to go so far as to state that there were traces of involuntary incitement of political offenses in the conduct of the contemporary *sonjō* party; for it not only tolerated those who so strenuously opposed and obstructed the home and foreign policies of the Bakufu that their acts sometimes amounted to violations of law, but also bestowed upon them profuse praise as 'loyal retainers,' even after the Meiji Reformation."

Here are also a few sentences from Fukuchi's comments on Mito:

"The death of the Old Prince unfortunately served to precipitate the fall of the government [Shogunate]. While there may be a great deal to be said about the motions and acts of the man, he was nevertheless a hero of his age, leader of the *sonjō* party, and at the same time a believer in the importance of the Shogunate. Had he lived longer the government might not have gone down so soon. Though the Mito knights often resorted to violence to carry out their *sonjō* principles under his encouragement, they might as easily have been pacified by his personal influence, and the government might never have met such a disaster as losing its power so easily. After his death, however, the anti-foreign and loyalist spirits became fierce and unbridled."





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#8

THE EARLY INHABITANTS OF WESTERN ASIA.¹

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[With 12 plates.]

Standing on the "New Bridge" in Constantinople, near the Mosque of the Sultan Validé, I have more than once tried to count the languages and dialects spoken by the crowds pressing and pushing between Galata and Stamboul. Turkish and Greek are naturally the most frequently spoken, but one also easily distinguishes much Armenian, Arabic, Kurdish, and Persian. We hear the harsh voices of some Circassian soldiers, and learn from an Abkhasian friend that he does not understand their language and that "it might be" Lesghian. He also tells us that many of his Circassian friends serving in the same regiment are obliged to speak Turkish when they want to understand one another.

We then meet Albanians, Bulgarians, Roumanians, and are addressed in Serbo-Croatian by an old priest from Bosnia. You are sure to hear in less than five minutes five other modern European languages, English, French, German, Italian, and Russian, and then your ear is delighted by the melodious Spanish of some Spaniole Jews from Salonika, who still retain the idiom spoken in Spain when they were expelled from there more than 400 years ago, and have thus actually preserved the language spoken by Cervantes. And we hear other Jews on their pilgrimage from Russia and Poland to Jerusalem, speaking their curious Yiddish, a sort of German that no German could understand without making it a special study. Once on this bridge, I had to play the interpreter between a Hungarian Gypsy and some Aptals or other Gypsies from Anatolia, and an instant later I saw a Dinka eunuch sitting on the motor car of an imperial princess and making his selam to a group of equally dark and equally tall Bari or Shilluk.

Bilin and Nuer also are very commonly spoken by Stamboul eunuchs, and I was once told by one of my colored friends there that more than 1,000 female servants are living in metropolitan palaces, all coming from Bornu and speaking Kanuri. Another day, on the same bridge, I met some East Indians, speaking, as they told me,

¹The Huxley Memorial Lecture for 1911. Reprinted by permission from *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. 41, 1911. July to December. London.

Hindi, Hindustani, and Gujerati, and trying in vain to come to an understanding with a large troop of African hajjis returning from Mecca, some of whom were Hausa, others from Zanzibar and the Swahili coast, others from Wadai and Baghirmi. One may also meet on this bridge Mohammedans from China and from Indonesia, and, to complete this Babylonian confusion of languages, some day or other even a Papuan from Doreh or some other place in Dutch New Guinea may appear there on his hajj to Mecca.

Not less numerous than the languages are the types one meets in Constantinople or in any other of the larger towns in western Asia, and even within a linguistic group there is generally a most striking diversity of somatic qualities. There are Turks with fair and Turks with dark skin; Greeks with short and Greeks with long heads; Arabs with broad and low noses; and other Arabs with narrow and high noses; Kurds with blue and Kurds with black eyes; and the more one studies the ethnography of the Ottoman Empire the more one sees that "Turks" in reality means nothing else than Mohammedan subjects of the Padishah, that "Greeks" means people belonging to the Orthodox church, and that "Arabs" are people speaking Arabic—the somatic difference between a Bedouin from Arabia or Mesopotamia and an "Arab" farmer from near Beyrout is striking, and they have nothing in common except their language.

Also the study of the modern religions in western Asia is of no help to us in this labyrinth of types. There are Greeks who look like Mohammedans, and many Ansariyeh or other ("Moslem") sectaries are not to be distinguished from Armenians. Religion, too, is here much more closely connected with late historical events than with races or nations, and is only too often of a merely accidental character.

Even the old historians do not help us. Their anthropological interests were generally trifling, and important statements like the note that the Armenians "*πολλὰ φρυγίζουσιν τῇ φωνῇ*," or that a tribe from the Solymian Mountains spoke Phœnician, are extremely rare in the old writers, who give us names like Lycians, Carians, Cilicians, Paphlagonians, Cappadocians, Lydians, and so on, but, generally, do not give us the slightest details as to their place in an anthropological system.

So we can well understand how, 50 years ago, G. Rosen, then perhaps the best authority on the nations of Asia Minor and Syria, could say that the anthropology of western Asia would "always remain a mystery."

Since then minute anthropometric researches and vast excavations have both thrown light on most of the problems connected with this "mystery," so that it may now be considered as practically solved.

My own way of proceeding was to eliminate one by one every national or racial element that could be traced as having come

from outside, and then to study the remainder. It was my good fortune to begin archeological and anthropometric field work in Lycia as early as 1881, and since that time I have never ceased to collect all available data connected with the natural history of man in western Asia. So it is the work of 30 years of which I shall now try to give a short account, and this will be done best by beginning with the ostensible foreign elements and then describing the remaining tribes and groups.

A. DARK AFRICANS.

These are naturally by far the easiest to eliminate, and they have only in a very insignificant way contributed to the building up of the white communities in Asia Minor and in Syria, although they have been imported there from the earliest historical times down to our own days. Even now there are few houses of wealthy Mohammedans without dark servants, male or female, and without half-caste children of the most various tints. Nowhere, perhaps, with the exception only of Brazil, could miscegenation be better studied than in the large towns of the Levant. Domestic slavery is still flourishing there, and "black ivory" generally comes, as in the old times, from the Upper Nile, but also from Bornu. In the Turkish-speaking south of Asia Minor a dark African is generally called "Arab," in Syria, "Maghrebi" or "Habeshi." As far as I know, social inferiority is never connected with color; half-castes frequently intermarry with whites, but still there is no real negro permeation of the other natives, probably because that section of the offspring which reverts to negro qualities does not stand the climate.

B. CIRCASSIANS.

About a million of the Mohammedan inhabitants of the Caucasus immigrated into Asia Minor and Syria after the fall of Shamyl. The lot of these muhajir (refugees) was generally a melancholy one; the Ottoman Government did its best to give them land, but land without a master is rare also in Turkey, and in many places the result was a fight of all against all or a state of regular brigandage, often resulting in the final extinction of the Circassians. Where the land given to them was really masterless, it lay in unhealthy swamps and marshes, where malaria raged and carried them off at a terrible rate year by year. I know a place near Islahiyeh where more than 1,000 Circassian families were settled about 1880; now only 7 of them remain, and these in a wretched state of fever and disease. Only a very few of these Circassian colonies are really thriving, and probably most of these glorious sons of snowy mountains will in a few generations have paid with their lives for their fidelity to Islam.

Till now the Circassian blood has not seriously influenced that of their Turkish neighbors and probably never will. The colonists very seldom give their daughters to Turks or Arabs, and the "soft Circassian beauties" play a larger part in fiction than in actuality.

C. ALBANIANS.

The number of Arnauts or Albanians actually living in Asiatic Turkey is said to be about 100,000. Many of them serve in the army, some are high government officials, a few are even in the diplomatic service and famous for their unusual intelligence. Most of the "kavasses" of the foreign consuls and rich merchants are Arnauts, and so are nearly all the boy servants in the Turkish bath establishments. Most of the large "hans" (caravanserai) in the interior are also managed by Albanians.

It is easy to separate these Albanians from the great bulk of the other Islamic elements of the Ottoman Empire, because they are all proud of their nationality and stick to their native language. They intermarry rarely with aliens and are remarkably homogeneous as to their physical qualities. They are nearly all dark, tall, with large, extremely brachycephalic skulls, and high and very narrow noses. Somehow connected with the Dinaric race they have by long inbreeding and isolation in their nearly inaccessible mountains acquired their remarkable and quite peculiar type.

D. BULGARIANS.

The few thousand Bulgarians living in Asiatic Turkey are mostly confined to Constantinople and some towns on the north coast of Asia Minor. Their language and their garb permit us easily to isolate them, and they are so few in number that we may neglect their influence on the somatic qualities of their alien neighbors.

For the same cause also we may here omit the Roumanians and Serbs.

E. BOSNIANS.

Since 1879 probably not one Austrian Lloyd steamer has left Trieste for Constantinople without having on board some Mohammedans from Bosnia and Herzegovina desirous of escaping Christian rule. They settle by preference near Brussa, and will probably in some generations have a certain influence on the type of the Islamic inhabitants of the neighborhood. It may therefore be stated here that, though they are called "Turks" in Austria, they have no Turkish blood. They are descendants of the typical South-Slavonic population, which inhabited Bosnia and Herzegovina long before the battle of Kossovo-polye (1389) and were after the fall of the Servian Empire forced to turn Mohammedans. They do not even speak Turkish, but have preserved their old Serbo-Croatian language.

The very few Bosnians, mostly officers, that settled in Asiatic Turkey before the Austrian occupation of Bosnia may be omitted here.

F. FRANKS AND LEVANTINES.

Frengghi (Franconians or Franks) is the common name for the European Christians (and also for syphilis) all over the nearer Orient, and the descendants of European, generally French and Italian, and therefore Roman Catholic, families are called Levantines. They take only a minimum share in the building up of the oriental populations. In Marmaritzza near Halikarnassos, where a British squadron had a winter station for many years, a very great proportion of the children are said to be flaxen-haired, and at Kynyk, the ancient Xanthos in Lycia, I met in 1881 a Mohammedan, quite fair, with light blue eyes, of rare intelligence, and with nearly a fanatical interest in geographical and archeological problems. He was born in 1841, a year after the second expedition of Sir Charles Fellows, at Xanthos. Near Sendjirli I know an Armenian woman who is very fair; her own people pretend that she is the daughter of an American. But all these are rare exceptions, of no general importance, and I feel sure that the modern admixture of European blood is in no way responsible for the great number of light-colored people also in the interior of Asia Minor and Syria.

That in Oriental towns with very hot summers the death rate of light-colored children in Frankish and Levantine families is essentially larger than that of dark-colored has been often asserted, and would naturally be of universal anthropological interest if proved by serious statistics. Personally I do not know of one single light-colored Levantine family in places infected with heavy malaria.

G. JEWS.

As the oriental Jews practically never mix with the other orientals, and so do not contribute in any way to the physical qualities of their oriental neighbors, they would be of no interest for this paper if we could not trace them back to very early times. But their racial position can only be investigated in connection with the old and oldest anthropology of Syria and Palestine. So for the moment we must here confine ourselves to the statement that there are several very distinct groups of oriental Jews.

By far the most numerous are now the Sephardim, speaking an early Spanish dialect, and descended chiefly from Jews expelled from Spain by the narrow-minded fanaticism of the fifteenth century. They have contributed not a little to the intellectual and economic development of the Ottoman Empire.

Of far less importance are the Ashkenazim, speaking "Yiddish," and descended from Jews emigrated from eastern Europe. The

difference between these two groups was originally merely geographical and accidental, but now they are holding themselves rigidly apart, and I know of a small Ashkenazic community in southwestern Asia Minor that abstains from meat rather than eat of an animal killed by a Sephardic butcher. I could not learn if there were also differences in creed, but practically these two groups are like different sects, and in most places there is less intercourse between them than there is between Protestants and Catholics in the most backward villages of Central Europe.¹ This is perhaps of some importance in connection with the fact that both Ashkenazim and Sephardim are equally distinguished by a complete absence of uniform racial characteristics, just as it is with our Jewish friends in Europe.

The "enlightened public" of course knows better. Some Jews themselves state that they are "pure Semites, chosen and selected," and even in modern scientific papers one may still read of the complete "uniformity" of the Jewish type. But this uniformity only exists in the books and not in reality. There are Jews with light and with dark eyes, Jews with straight and with curly hair, Jews with high and narrow, and Jews with short and broad noses; their cephalic index oscillates between 65 and 98—as far as this index ever oscillates in the genus homo. Indeed, since my paper on the anthropological position of the Jews² there is, as far as I know, no serious anthropologist who still maintains the cranial uniformity of the Jews. It is also conceded that the great majority of the Jews is decidedly brachycephalic, whilst the typical Semites are essentially dolichocephalic. But even giving up the cranial uniformity, one still speaks of the marvelous tenacity, frequency, and distinctiveness of the Jewish type of face. Now this "Jewishness" is much more easily felt than defined, and Joseph Jacobs³ (1885) was the first to try an exact definition. It is a certain and typical development of the nostrils (Jacobs's "nostrility") that is the best characteristic of what we generally call "Jewish."

Weissenberg,⁴ wanting to prove a specific Jewishness of type, relates how he showed some hundred photographs of Russians and Russian Jews without distinguishing or peculiar dress, etc., to two friends, a Russian and a Jew; the first was correct in 50 per cent, the second in 70 per cent of his statements. I do not think this experiment very

¹ R. Andrée, in his *Völkskunde der Juden*, quotes a passage in the *Jewish Chronicle*, 1878, where an Ashkenaz asks if "those Portuguese are real Jews, or only a sort of half-castes but distantly related to our glorious race?" A Portuguese answers him that "we are the Jews of the highest caste, as may be best evidenced by the fact that we have always refused to assimilate ourselves with the lower caste—the Tedeschi." So felt the Jews in London, and in 1884 the Sephardim of Bucharest bought a churchyard for themselves, to have nothing in common with the Ashkenazim, even after their death!

² "Die anthropologische Stellung der Juden," *Correspondenzblatt der deutschen anthropol. Gesellschaft*, 1892. Also in an Italian translation by Prof. Ugolini in *Arch. per l' Antropologia e l' Etnologia*, vol. 22, 1892.

³ "On the racial characteristics of modern Jews," *Journal Anthropol. Inst.*, 1885, vol. 15, p. 23 ss.

⁴ *Globus*, Bd. 97, 1910, p. 329.

convincing; Weissenberg should have shown his friends photos of Greeks, Armenians, and Persians. The number of correct identifications would then have been certainly very much smaller, and it would have become evident that what Weissenberg takes to be "Jewishness" is nothing more than oriental, pure and simple. I shall refer to this statement toward the end of this paper, and meanwhile only want to advert to Table II, on page 571, showing in the thick line the cephalic indices of 1,222 Jews; 52 per cent of these were Sephardim, whom I measured at Smyrna, at Constantinople, at Makri, and in Rhodes; the rest were Ashkenazim measured by myself when I was one of the medical assistants in the Allgemeine Krankenhaus at Vienna, Austria.

Besides these two large groups there are other Jews in Turkey and in Egypt, who have been there since the early times of the Diaspora and longer. But they are few in number and I had no opportunity to measure any of them.

H. GYPSIES, APTAL, ETC.

A small but highly interesting group is formed by the Gypsies and their kin. About 30,000 of them are said to infect Turkey with their disorder and inclination for theft and larceny. On the other side, they are cheerful company, men and women, not seldom with a certain beauty.¹ They make baskets and sieves; the men are mostly blacksmiths and shrewd horsedealers. They are never settled in houses, but wander with their goat-hair tents, in winter time on the plains, in summer high up in the mountains. I once met a small "village" of about 10 Gypsy tents as high up as 8,000 feet. Unhappily, nothing is known about their early migrations and history; they speak Turkish in Asia Minor, Arabic in Syria, and keep secret their own language with so much care that my various and repeated efforts to get at least a few phrases turned out a complete failure.²

In northern Syria I met a kind of Gypsies calling themselves "Aptal"; they lay a certain stress upon their *not* being Gypsies, but I could find no real difference either in their somatic qualities or in their ethnographic or social standing. Some of them often wander about like dervishes in groups of four or five, and with a large red or green banner; others are jugglers and conjurers and play tricks with serpents.

Gypsies never, or hardly ever, mix with other tribes in Syria or Asia Minor. They naturally pretend to be Mohammedans and have Islamic names, but they are always treated with a certain contempt

¹ Cf. some types I published in Petersen and von Luschan, *Reisen in Lykien Milyas und Kibyratis*, Wien, C. Gerold's Sohn, 1889.

² Henry Minor Huxley (*American Anthropologist*, vol. 4, 1902, p. 49) examined at Jerusalem a few gypsies of Syria that spoke Arabic, "but among themselves fluently Gypsy. Many of their words have exactly the same forms as are found in Hindu Gypsy words." I do not know if this statement is confirmed by other explorers.

or disesteem. Mohammedans hardly ever curse; but one of their rare abusive phrases is *tchingene*=gypsy.

Till now we have been treating of a few isolated groups that are very easily separated from the bulk of the tribes of western Asia. We now come to some nomadic tribes, who also form quite distinct groups: Turkomans, Yuruks, and Kurds.

I. TURKOMANS.

Real Turkomans, coming from west Turkestan, are rather rare in Asia Minor, and I never met any in Syria. They travel in quite small groups, one or two families only, and are to be distinguished even at a great distance, as they are the only tribe in Asia Minor which has the real camel with two humps, all the others having the dromedary. I once met a family of such Turkomans, near Old Limyra in eastern Lycia, that had come "from near Samarkand." They had been away from home four years and wanted to go as far as Constantinople; in five or six years more they thought—*inshallah*—to reach their home.

Some of these Turkomans have very oblique eyes; all have small roundish heads and are of low stature, seldom exceeding 160 centimeters. They do not mix with the native inhabitants.

J. YURUKS.

Another nomadic tribe found in Asia Minor in far greater numbers than the Turkomans, is formed by the Yuruks. The word means "wanderer," and many misunderstandings are due to this ambiguity, as all sorts of "wanderers" have been described as Yuruks, just as settlers in South Africa sometimes speak of "Bushmen," not meaning the real Pygmy-Bushmen, but dark and tall Kafirs living "in the bush."

I wrote upon the real Yuruks in the Z. f. E. 1886, vol. 18, Verh. p. 167 ss., and may here refer to this paper and to the plates in Reisen in Lykien, etc., quoted here (p. 559, note 1).

They are remarkable for the artificial deformation of their heads and their generally long skulls. Their real home is not known. They speak Turkish, and up to the present no trace has been found of their original language. I once suggested that they might be in some distant way related with the Gypsies, with whom at least some of them have a decided and striking somatic resemblance; it then seemed to me possible that their high moral standard, their serious and decent ways, and their assiduity in work—their wives are famous carpet makers—might be due to Islam. But this was a mere suggestion, and it might well be that their resemblance to the Gypsies is only quite accidental. I hope that others may be more successful and

find legends and traditions, remains of the old language, or other material that would permit us to trace the Yuruks back to their real home.

Meanwhile a sort of jealousy between them and the settled Moham-medans excludes intermarriage almost without exception.

K. KURDS.

Kurdistan, the land of the Kurds, is a vast mountainous territory, nearly twice as large as Greece, in the southeast of the Armenian mountains. Its frontiers are undefined and uncertain, changing with the scattering or gathering of a floating mass of chiefly nomadic inhabitants.¹ The greater northwestern part is under Ottoman, the southeastern under Persian, control. We know of no political unity of the Kurds, and, as far as we can trace back their history, they were always forming many different tribes (ashirets) under independent chiefs, whose strength was only broken in the last century, in Turkey not without the aid of H. v. Moltke, then a young Prussian officer.

The Kardouchoi and Gordyaeans of the old historians are most probably the direct ancestors of the modern Kurds, but we do not know when these tribes first set their foot upon the soil of their present home. The Assyrian annals and careful excavations on the upper Euphrates and Tigris will probably, at some future time, shed light upon this question.

Meanwhile it is important to state two facts: The Kurds speak an Aryan language, and they have long heads and generally blue eyes and fair hair.

I have studied three groups of Kurds, 115 men near Karakush, 26 men on the Nimrud-Dagh, and 80 men from near Sendjirli—all adults. In the Karakush series 71 men were xanthochroic, on the Nimrud-Dagh 15, and in Sendjirli 31, this being 62, 58, and 39 per cent, respectively, and for the whole number of 221 adult men, 53 per cent. The cephalic index oscillated, in the case of the 115 Karakush Kurds, between 713 and 785, with the Nimrud-Dagh men between 723 and 783, and in Sendjirli between 744 and 809, the arithmetic mean being 749, 752, and 769. Two good types are here reproduced. (Pl. 1.)

The Kurds from Karakush and from the Nimrud-Dagh live nearly isolated. I found only one or two small Armenian merchants with them. The Kurds from Sendjirli stay near "Turkish" and Armenian villages, and it is known that they sometimes steal and marry Armenian wives, and not seldom they intermarry with "Turks" so it is probable that the Kurds from Sendjirli are less typical than those from Karakush and Nimrud-Dagh.² I saw many other Kurds on the

¹ The best statistics on Kurds are due to Mark Sykes, *Trans. Roy. Anthropol. Inst.*, vol. 37, 1908, p. 451 ss.

² The greater number of xanthochroic men on the Nimrud-Dagh and in Karakush compared with their smaller number in Sendjirli may be due partly to the splendid, cool climate of these mountain villages.

plain between Kyrykhan and Marash, whom I could not measure, but who seemed to be in absolute conformity with the Kurds I had measured. So I may state that the western Kurds are dolichocephalic with an average index of 75, and with more than 50 per cent of fair adults—the heads becoming shorter and larger, and the hair and eyes darker, with the increasing admixture of “Turkish” or Armenian blood.

So much for the western Kurds. We are up to the present very ignorant as to the somatic qualities of the eastern Kurds. I have myself only seen a very few Kurds from Persia, but the general impression of some of my scientific friends is that the eastern Kurds show a much higher percentage of darker and round-headed men than the western.

The language of the Kurds is split into many dialects; yet two main groups are to be distinguished, a western and an eastern. Both are related to modern Persian and are typically Aryan. So, if we ask for the real native country of the Kurds, there can only be one answer. It must be the same as that of our own race, of the race of Northern Europe. It is not my concern here in this paper to treat of the Aryan problem, and I feel myself utterly free from any Pan-Germanic aspirations in the style of Gobineau and Chamberlain, but still I believe in an old “blue-eyed, fair-haired, long-headed race as in an impregnable complex and not a synthetic accident.”¹

And can it be mere accident that a few miles north of the actual frontier of modern Kurdish language there is Boghaz-Köi, the old metropolis of the Hittite Empire, where Hugo Winckler in 1908 found tablets with two political treaties of King Šubbiluliuma with Mattiuaza, son of Tušratta, King of Mitanni, and in both these treaties Aryan divinities, Mithra, Varuna, Indra, and Našatya, are invoked, together with Hittite divinities, as witnesses and protectors.

And in the same inscriptions, which date from about 1380 B. C., the King of Mitanni and his people are called Harri, just as nine centuries later in the Achæmenidian inscriptions Xerxes and Darius call themselves Har-ri-ya, “Aryans of Aryan stock.”

So the Kurds are the descendants of Aryan Invaders and have maintained their type and their language for more than 3,300 years.

L. TAHTADJI.

In Lycia there are about 1,000 families, or 5,000 souls, of a people calling themselves Tahtadji or boardcutters—“sawyers.” This is indeed their principal occupation. In Western Lycia their Mohammedan neighbors call them Allevi, a name that is perhaps connected

¹ Verbally quoted from a paper of R. N. Salaman, “Heredity and the Jew,” in *Journal of Genetics*, vol. 1, p. 274. The author of this very interesting paper holds the opposite opinion and believes in a “synthetic accident.”

with the word *Ali-Ullahî* or Layard's *Ali-Ilahiya*,¹ meaning people that worship Ali. I treated at large of this curious sect in 1889,² so that I can be brief here.

They live high up in the mountains, generally in tents covered with felt, sometimes in round [!] houses, and keep rigidly apart from all the other inhabitants of Lycia. They speak Turkish, are originally regarded as Mohammedans, and have also Mohammedan names, but they have no inner connection with the creed of Mohammed. They believe in metempsychosis and in good and bad demons. Hares and turkeys are considered as unclean, and the peacock as a sort of incarnation of the devil.

Their somatic qualities are remarkably homogeneous; they have a tawny white skin, much hair on the face, straight hair, dark brown eyes, a narrow, generally aquiline nose, and a very short and high head. The cephalic index varies only from 82 to 91 with a maximum frequency of 86. The mean length-height index is 781, the mean facial index, 876. A typical skull of a *Tahtadji* is figured here (pl. 11).

M. BEKTASH.

Whilst the *Tahtadji* live high up in the mountains of Lycia, a similar sect, the *Bektash*, dwells in the Lycian towns, principally in *Elmaly*. Their creed has never been exactly studied, and they are very anxious to keep it secret. Like the *Tahtadji* they affect a certain affinity with the real Moslems, but they never intermarry with them.

I published the measurements of 40 adult male *Bektash* in my paper on the *Tahtadji*² and quote from it here, that the cephalic index oscillates only between 84 and 89, and the auricular height-index between 74 and 83, with two maxima at 75 and 82. The facial index has a very distinct maximum at 86.

N. ANSARÎYEH.

Exactly corresponding to the *Tahtadji* and the *Bektash* in southwestern Asia Minor are the *Ansariyeh*=*Nussairiyeh* in northern Syria.

In some places, as in Antiochia (ad *Orontem*), they are called "*Fellah*"—from their principal occupation—but have no connection with the *Fellah* of Egypt. All that is known about their creed is exactly parallel to our knowledge of the *Tahtadji*, and the same tales of nocturnal orgies, "*jus primæ noctis*," and "spiritistic" meetings are told of both groups.

Many *Ansariyeh* have also in their general appearance a striking likeness to some Lycian *Tahtadji*. I measured 15 adult men.

¹ A. H. Layard, *Nineveh*, vol. 1, p. 296 ss.

² Petersen and von Luschan, *Reisen in Lykien, etc.*, Wien, C. Gerold's Sohn. Partly reprinted in *Archiv. f. Anthr.*, vol. 19, 1890.

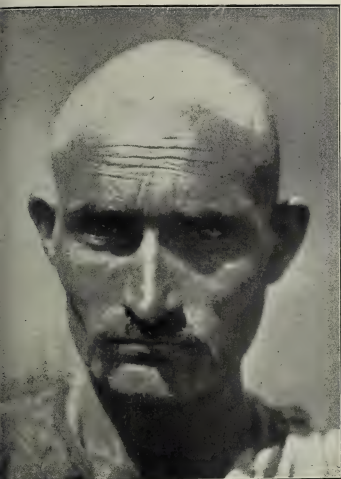
Their cranial index varies from 80 to 94, with a maximum at 85. (Compare plate 2.)

O. KYZYLBASH.

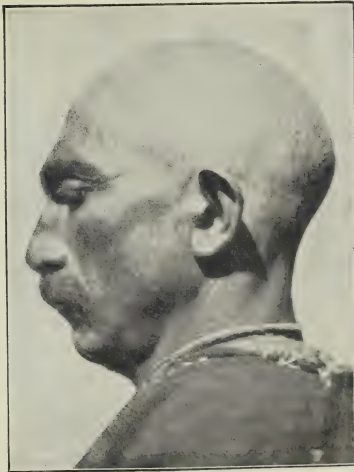
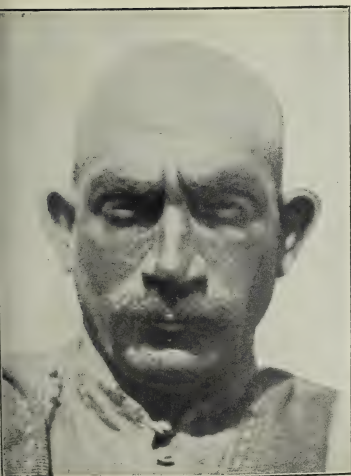
In Upper Mesopotamia and in small groups reaching in the west as far as the High Taurus, near Marash, there is a curious people, living in the midst of Arabs and Kurds, which calls itself "Kyzylbash," a word that means "redhead" in literal translation. But there are not more red-haired individuals among them than among their neighbors, and their head dress is not more red than that of any other Oriental group. So the word can not mean what it seems to mean, and had its origin perhaps in quite another word in another language; in the same way that popular etymology made "ridicule" from "reticula" or, in German, "mutter-seelenallein" from "moi tout seul." Perhaps linguists will one day find out the real origin and meaning of Kyzylbash.

In some places in western Kurdistan people that are exactly like the Kyzylbash are called "Yezidi," and protest that they have nothing at all to do with the Kyzylbash; in other places, so I was told one day at Kiakhta, on the Böilam River and again near Diarbekr, that Yezidi and Kyzylbash were two words for the same thing, the one being Arabic, the other Turkish. I do not know if this is correct, but, as far as I could ascertain, the creed and the social condition of both groups are fairly identical. Sir A. H. Layard's classic report on this sect is so complete and exhaustive that I have nothing more to add than a few words on the physical characteristics. They are strangely homogeneous. I was able to measure 189 adult men; only three of them had grayish eyes, all the rest had dark brown eyes, dark hair, and tawny "white" skin. Their cranial index varies only from 83 to 92, with a well-defined maximum at 86. The index of the auricular height varies from 75 to 83, and the facial index from 80 to 90, with a pronounced maximum at 86. I could measure only a few noses; they were all very high and leptorrhine, and so seemed, with few exceptions, all the rest.

So these Kyzylbash are excessively short and broad-headed in the midst of dolichocephalic Kurds and Arabs; their nose, too, is much narrower than that of their neighbors. On the other hand, the Kyzylbash [and the Yezidi] correspond absolutely with the Tahtadji, the Bektash, and the Ansariyeh, so that we find a small minority of groups possessing a similar creed and a remarkable uniformity of type, scattered over a vast part of western Asia. I see no other way to account for this fact than to assume that the members of all these sects are the remains of an old homogeneous population, which have preserved their religion and have therefore refrained from intermarriage with strangers and so preserved their old physical characteristics.



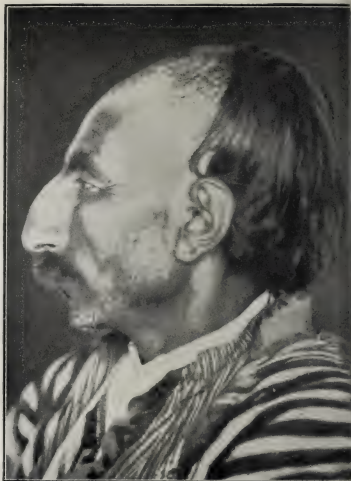
IBO, KURD, NIMRUD-DAGH, 1883.



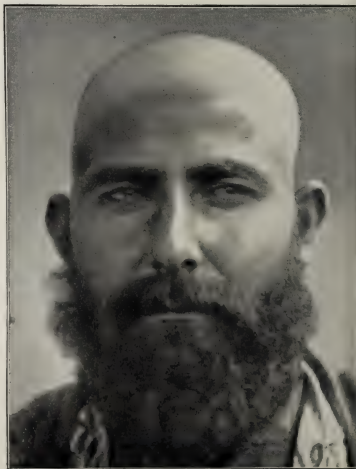
BAKO, KURD, NIMRUD-DAGH, 1883.



SULO, "KURD," ATYPICAL, KIAKHTA.



ARMENIAN, AINTÁB.



HABIB, ANSARÎYEH, SCANDEROON.

Two other sects that are now to be mentioned, the Druses and the Maronites, show in the same way how religious seclusion tends to preserve old physical types.

P. DRUSES.

In the south of Beyrout a great part of the Lebanon and Antilibanos country is inhabited by about 150,000 Druses, who down to our days are to a certain extent independent of the Ottoman Government and enjoy a good many privileges.

Their secret creed has been studied best by S. de Sacy in 1838,¹ and contains, mixed with Jewish, Christian, and Mohammedan elements, a great many pantheistic conceptions, together with curious ideas on metempsychosis and the repeated incarnation of God, and with remains of the old Oriental worship of Nature. They speak Arabic and pass officially as "Mohammedans," having Islamic names, but they have no inner connection with the religion of Mohammed.

Max v. Oppenheim² believes the Druses to be the descendants of "Arabs," immigrated about A. D. 800.

This hypothesis probably conforms to local tradition, but is in direct contradiction to the general impression we get from Druses and from Arabs, and from the result of anthropometric researches. I measured 59 adult male Druses, and not one single man fell, as regards his cephalic index, within the range of the real Arab.

The Druses are all hyper-brachycephalic, with an index oscillating, like that of the Bektash, between 84 and 89 only, with one single exception, an old mischievous and half idiotic pensioner, who pretended to have once been first keeper of the Imperial Plate in Constantinople, and to be a real incarnation of Ali. His index was 76 without a suspicion of synostotic sutures; but he had gray eyes, and fell in many other respects so fully out of the line of the homogeneous rest of my Druses, that it seems safe to drop him entirely.

The index of the auricular height ranges from 74 to 84 and the facial index from 79 to 92, with a distinct maximum of 86, with 14 men in 58.

Q. MARONITES.

The northern neighbors of the Druses are the Maronites, Christians, generally said to be the descendants of a Monophysite sect, separated from the common Christian Church after the Council of Chalcedon in A. D. 451. Now, this council is certainly of the very greatest importance for ecclesiastical history, as it caused the schism between the Oriental world and the Occidental: the Greek, the Armenian, and the Coptic Church separated from the Roman, because the simple understanding and the sound common sense of the Orientals preferred

¹ *Exposé de la religion des Druses*, vol. 2, Paris, 1838.

² *Vom Mittelmeer zum Persischen Golf*, Berlin, D. Reimer, 1899, vol. 1, p. iii ss.

to accept only one nature in Jesus Christ. But this theological dispute gave the name to the Maronites, for they chose a monk, John Maro, to be their bishop after they separated from Rome, but their physical qualities are much older than their religious schism. Indeed, partly through their isolation in the mountains, partly through their not intermarrying with their Mohammedan or Druse neighbors, the Maronites of to-day have preserved an old type in an almost marvelous purity. In no other Oriental group is there a greater number of men with extreme height of the skull and excessive flattening of the occipital region than among the Maronites. They are the best specimens of what C. Toldt¹ calls "planoccipital" formation, and very often their occiput is so steep that one is again and again inclined to think of artificial deformation. Indeed I took great care to make sure of this point and examined nearly a hundred babies in their cradles, to ascertain whether or not a particular way of laying the child's head on a cushion might perhaps influence the form of the occiput. No such possibility was found, and we are constrained to regard the extreme "planoccipital" formation of the Maronites (and their relations) as a natural character. Cf. the two types here (pl. 3.)

I have measured 20 adult males, mostly from Baalbek and from Tarabolus. Their cephalic index ranged from 79 to 91 with an arithmetic mean of 86. The average facial index was 89, the irregular indices running from 75 to 94, with four cases of 87. All were dark.

Having thus treated of a series of smaller groups, we can now proceed to the five great groups of western Asia—Persians, Arabs, Turks, Greeks, and Armenians.

R. PERSIANS.

Notwithstanding some recent researches, our knowledge of the anthropology of Persia is rather scanty. In a land inhabited by about 10,000,000, not more than 20 or 30 men have been regularly measured, and not one skull has been studied.

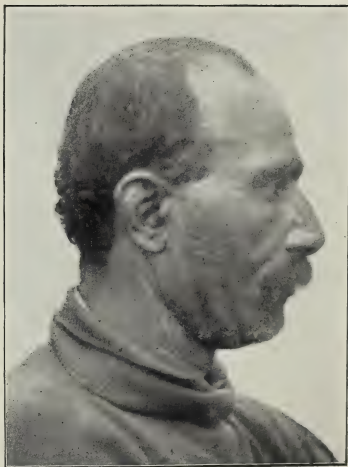
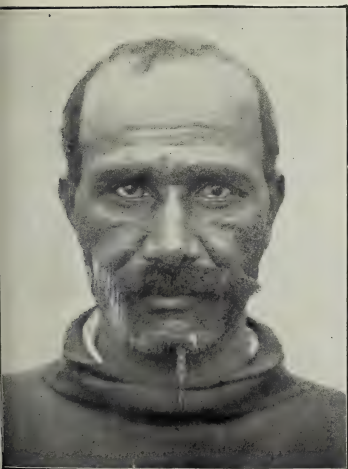
Apart from Kurds, Arabs, and Armenians, each numbering from 200,000 to 300,000 souls, and smaller groups of Nestorians, Lurs, Gypsies, etc., there are two large ethnical groups in Persia, the Shiite and settled Tajik and the Sunnite and essentially nomadic Ihlát. The latter are Turkomans and so is the actual Dynasty of the Kajar; the Ihlát, being the energetic and vigorous element, are the real masters of the land and of the Tajik, the descendants of the old Persians and Medes. But long-continued intermarriage has produced a great many mixed types. Thus the Kajars have sometimes the high aquiline noses quite foreign to real Turkomans.

The old type seems to be preserved in the Parsi, the descendants of Persians who emigrated to India after the battle of Nahauband

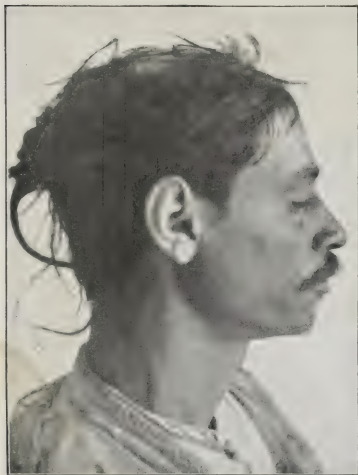
¹ "Untersuchungen über die Brachycephalie der Alpenländischen Bevölkerung," in *Mitteilungen der Wiener anthropol. Gesell.*, vol. 40, 1910, p. 69 ss. and p. 197 ss.



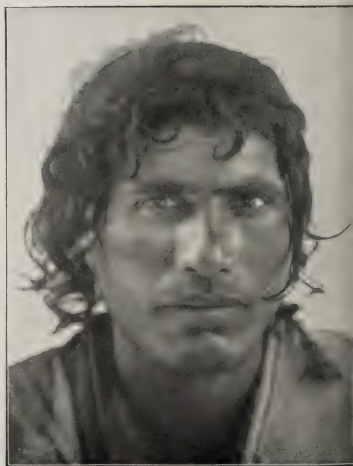
NEDSHIB HURI, "ARAB," SHUAFAT, LEBANON.



IBRAHIM IBN SAÏD, "ARAB," BEYROUT.



ANNESEH—BEDOUIN FROM NEAR BAGHDAD.



ANNESEH—BEDOUIN FROM NEAR MOSSOUL.

(A. D. 640), of much purer form than among any true Persians. They are all short headed and dark.

My own measurements are confined to 15 adult men, Persians of the Diaspora, diplomats, consuls, and tobacconists, whom I occasionally met in Constantinople, Smyrna, Rhodes, and Adalia. They were all very dark. Their cephalic indices run 73, 74, 74, 80, 81, 86, 86, 87, 87, 87, 88, 88, 89, 89, 90. So there is a large majority of brachycephals. I do not lay stress on the three dolichocephalic men, because a great number of Persians whom I saw, without being able to measure, seemed to be brachycephalic. Anyhow it is not impossible that in reality a certain number of Persians—I am very far from saying one-fifth of them—have long skulls. I never saw Persians with light hair and blue eyes, but I am told that in some “noble” families fair types are not very rare.

We know nothing of the physical characteristics of the Achæmenides, who called themselves “Aryans of Aryan stock” and who brought an Aryan language to Persia; it is possible that they were fair and dolichocephalic, like the ancestors of the modern Kurds, but they were certainly few in number, and it would therefore be astonishing if their physical characteristics should have persisted among a large section of the actual Persians. Still we must reckon with the possibility that an early “Aryan” invasion was not quite without influence also on the somatic qualities of modern Persians. Meanwhile much serious scientific work must still be done in investigating the anthropology of Persia ere we can replace mere conjecture by actual certainty.

S. ARABS.

In dealing with the peoples of western Asia, in no case is it more important to keep language and race rigidly apart than when treating of the Arabic-speaking people. Friedrich Müller called all the various elements in Arabia, Palestine, Syria, and Mesopotamia “Arabs,” merely because they spoke Arabic. Nothing could be more erroneous. The material and mental culture of these tribes and their somatic qualities are widely distinct, and the extent of the Arabic language is infinitely larger than the extent of an Arabic racial element.

But peninsular Arabia is the least-known land in the world, and large regions of it are even now absolute “*terræ incognitæ*,” so great caution is necessary in forming conclusions, from the measurements of a few dozens of men, concerning the anthropology of a land more than five times as great as France.

My own measurements are confined to 38 Annezeh-Bedouins, whom I met in 1883 in Aleppo; 18 other Bedawy, generally Shammar, camel drivers between Mosul and Alexandretta; 20 Mohammedan “Arabs” living in the town Hamah, the site of the first Hittite

inscriptions published; and 15 other Mohammedans from Syrian towns. Two groups, unfortunately very small, consist of 6 priests from Gesyra, whom I met in Aleppo, and 5 men from Hail, in Arabia, whom I was able to measure in Constantinople—in all 102 adult men, 61 of them real Bedawy and 41 settled in towns.¹

The cephalic indices of these "Arabs" ran thus:

	Number measured.	Cephalic index.
Bedawy:		
Annezeh.....	33	68 to 78
Other Bedawy.....	18	71 to 81
Men from Hail.....	5	70 to 74
Settled in towns:		
"Arabs" from Hamah.....	20	85 to 89
Other Mohammedans from Syrian towns.....	15	76 to 89
Priests from Gesyra.....	6	83 to 86

Remarkably parallel with the cephalic index is the form of the nose in both these groups. The Bedawy as a rule have short and fairly broad, the other "Arabs" have, with few exceptions, high and narrow noses, often of an aquiline form.

What we generally call a "Jewish type" is found very seldom among real Bedawy and very often among the "Arabs" in the towns, but it would be difficult to reduce this statement to a statistical form, as the conception of "Jewishness" is too uncertain and precarious. Two typical Bedouins are figured here. (Pl. 4.)

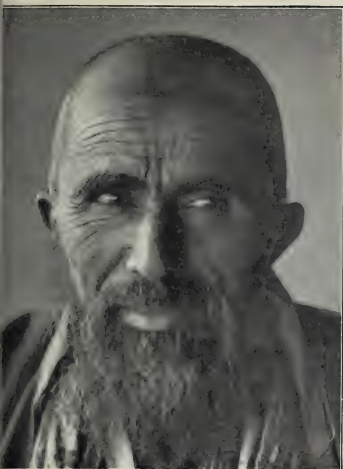
We shall later on try to understand the historical connection between these two types, the Bedawy and the other "Arabs." For the moment, we must restrict ourselves to having shown the marked difference that separates them.

T. TURKS.

It is customary in most European languages to call the Mohammedan subjects of the Padishah "Turks." But the word should never be used in this sense without inverted commas; it is more than ambiguous and easily leads to serious misunderstandings.

A Turkoman tribe, the Othmanli, commenced from 1289 to conquer a great part of what is now the Ottoman Empire. A good many of the former inhabitants were then forced to speak Turkish and to turn Mohammedans. It is easy to understand that the descendants of the conquerors and of the conquered renegades intermarried freely, and, as the number of the conquering troops was naturally very much smaller than that of the original population, the great bulk of the 10 or 15, or perhaps more, millions of so-called "Turks" has now the physical qualities, not of the conquering Othmanli, but of the old pre-Othmanic inhabitants.

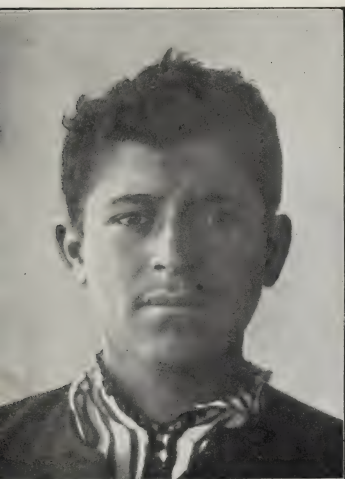
¹ I have measured 7 more "Arabs," but I omit their figures in this statement, because they were of mixed blood or in some way or other pathological.



HADSCHI SULEIMAN, MOHAMMEDAN, GIRMEH (*ΚΡΗΜΝΑ*).



ALI TSHAUSH, MOHAMMEDAN, AGHLASAN (*ΣΕΛΓΗ*).



GEORGIOS KONSTANTINOY, GREEK, LEVISS.



GEORGIOS GLINIS, GREEK, TINOS.

So the anthropology of Turkey is, like that of Hungary, a typical example showing how language, religion, nationality, and race are quite distinct conceptions, and it is interesting to see how they are again and again confounded by the general public and by the press.

In my paper on the Tahtadji¹ I gave the indices of 187 "Turks" (Turkish-speaking Mohammedans) from Lycia, and was able to show that in the mountain villages, and in some swampy marshes not easy of access, people were generally short headed, and in the towns and on the coast long headed. Since then I have measured 569 more "Turks" from southern Asia Minor and northern Syria, so that I can now publish the cephalic indices of 756 adult men; they run from 69 to 96; if we count the indices 77 to 81 as mesaticephalic, 172 of these 756 men would be dolichocephalic, 151 mesaticephalic, and 433 brachycephalic, with a very pronounced maximum of 77 and 83 men respectively at indices 85 and 86.

These numbers speak for themselves, but it is perhaps useful to study first the corresponding figures for the two large remaining groups, the Greeks and the Armenians, and then to compare the results. Two very different types of "Turks" are figured here. (Pl. 5.)

U. GREEKS.

What has been said of the "Turks" is valid too in absolutely the same way for the "Greeks" of Anatolia and Syria. Some of them are certainly the direct descendants of old Ionians, Dorians, or Æolians, but the greater part are descended from other groups which spoke Greek and had accepted the orthodox religion.

I must here pass over the interesting problem of the Dorian and Ionian wanderings² and must restrict myself to some measurements taken on a series of 179 adult men calling themselves Greek and belonging to the orthodox church. I published this series in 1890, in my paper on the Tahtadji, and reprint here a graphic table showing the frequency of the cephalic indices. It is very striking to see how the curve shows a maximum of 22 men with an index of 75, and a second maximum of 18 men with an index of 88.

Seventy-nine out of the 179 men are dolicho-, 84 are brachy-, and only 16 are mesaticephalic. If we reckon the arithmetic mean for the whole series, we get an average index of about 80, closely conforming to Weisbach's 95 skulls of Asiatic and European Greeks with an average index of 81.2, and with the series of Klon Stephanos,³ who found 80.8 for the Greeks in Europe and 80.7 for the Asiatic Greeks.

¹ Op cit., p. 563, note 2.

² My own private idea is that, contrary to the theory of Curtius, the Ionians came from Europe and the Dorians from Asia, but I shall treat of this subject in another paper.

³ Article on Greece in Dict. encyclop. des sciences med., Paris, 1884.

It is easily understood how dangerous and mystifying such an average index may be, if the material is composed of individuals from at least two different groups, as it manifestly is.

I am in possession of 93 skulls from a modern Greek cemetery in Adalia; they show about the same distribution of indices.

Long before the rediscovery of Mendel and his laws I tried to study the heredity of the cephalic index in the Greek families of Adalia. Here, in the old capital of Pamphylia, there is a large Greek colony,

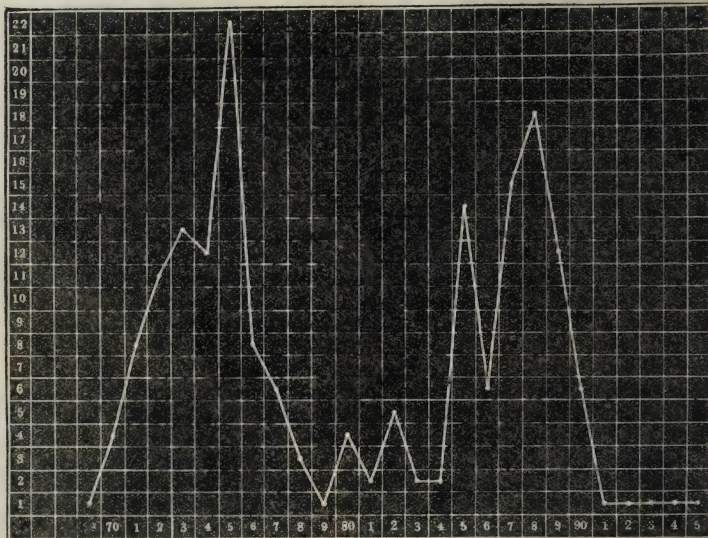


TABLE I.—Frequency of cephalic indices in a series of 179 adult male Greeks.

and as I had by good chance been able to give medical help to some of the influential members, I was permitted to measure parents, children and other relations in 67 families. The results were striking. I published a short abstract of them in 1889, in the *Reisen in Lykien*, and in 1890 in my paper on the *Tahtadji*.

There was a family A; the father had an index of 87, the mother of 73; of the two sons, the elder had an index of 70, the younger 87. In another family, B, the brother of the dead father had an index of 70, the mother 86, a son 82, a daughter 75. In a third family, C, both parents were brachycephalic, with indices of 85 and 86. Of their five children, only the youngest daughter was short headed, with an index of 86, and four elder brothers had long heads with 72, 73, 75, and 73, respectively; 74 was the index of a brother of the mother.

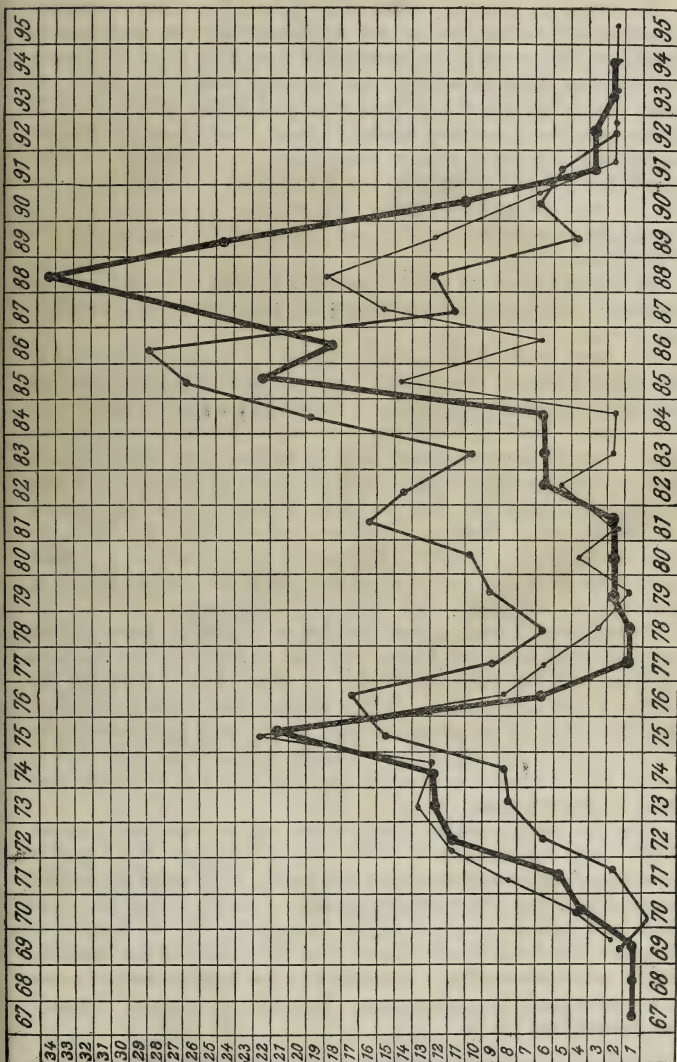


TABLE II.—Frequency of cephalic indices with Greeks, Turks, and Jews.

179 Greeks.

756 Turks, reduced to one-third.

1,222 Jews, reduced to one-fifth.

If I now study these 67 families in the light of Mendelian researches, it seems as if neither brachy- nor dolichocephaly were dominant or recessive; they seem to be transmitted now with equal frequency, and this has probably been the case for more than 2,000 years. At least, that is the age of the Greek colony of Adalia and for 60 or 70 generations short and long headed "Greeks" have been freely intermarrying. The result was, in many cases, not a mixture, as if we would mix red and white wine, but it was often a manifest reversion to the original types. I called this process "Entmischung," but one might perhaps just as well say "Spaltung" or "reversion" or "restitution."

In this way good old types, once fixed by long inbreeding, do not necessarily get lost by intermarriage, but often return with astonishing energy.

The short heads of the Asiatic "Greeks" certainly correspond to the short heads of the "Turks" and of all the Moslem Sectaries described at length in this paper. We shall soon learn to know their real origin. The long heads probably do not belong to one uniform type; some of them are nearly as high as good Anglo-Saxon heads, and can perhaps be compared with the heads of Kurds; other long heads of Greeks are low, like the heads of Bedawy, and I am inclined to regard them as Semitic. They are, indeed, chiefly found on the sites of old Semitic colonies. In some of these places, as in Adalia, the women wear their hair in many thin plaits, like the old Assyrians, and they are famous for their "Semitic" appearance.

As in ancient Greece a great number of individuals seem to have been fair, with blue eyes, I took great care to state whether this were the case with the modern "Greeks" in Asia. I have notes for 580 adults, males and females. In this number there were 8 with blue, and 29 with gray or greenish, eyes; all the rest had brown eyes. There was not one single case of really light-colored hair,¹ but in nearly all the cases of lighter eyes the hair also was less dark than with the other Greeks.

I did not measure all the Greeks whose eye and hair color I noted, but I found that three cases of the blue, and thirteen of the gray or greenish eyes were combined with long heads; but I noted also several cases of blue eyes with very short heads. So it is evident that head form and pigment are transmitted separately. As the number of long and high heads is much larger than the number of fair complexions it seems permissible to say that with the Asiatic Greeks fairness is recessive in the Mendelian sense. Two different types of "Greeks" are figured here (pl. 6).

¹ With the exception of the young men at Symi, who are all flaxen haired. In summer they dive for sponges, and their hair is bleached by the combined effects of sun and salt water.

V. ARMENIANS.

Whilst "Turks" and "Greeks" have been proved to be composed of at least two quite distinct somatic elements, the third of the three great ethnic groups, which form the bulk of the inhabitants of Asia Minor, the Armenians, is comparatively homogeneous.

Of course they also have incorporated in themselves various alien elements, and I know Armenians from southern Persia who look like Miloch or Dravidians, but as a rule the great mass of the Armenians forms not only a religious, but also a somatic unity.

Particularly in northern Syria there are places where Armenians resemble one another like eggs. Religious seclusion and, in many cases, life in remote mountain villages, have both contributed to prevent intermarriage with strangers, and thus we may assume from the beginning that they represent an old type.

More frequently than any other group in western Asia they show the "planoccipital" form of the profile curve, great brachycephaly with extreme height of the skull and a particularly narrow and high nose (Cf. pl. 7).

They are generally dark; yet of 110 adult men, whom my friend Dr. Assadur Altounyan examined for me in Aleppo, 8 had blue, and 6 "greenish," eyes, and in my own series of 26 adult men 1 had light gray, another greenish, eyes. I have no good statistics on the Armenians from the Provinces of Erivan and Nahitshevan in the Russian Transcaucasia, but a great number of the Armenians, whom I occasionally saw from there, had reddish hair and gray or green eyes. I do not know with what elements they may be mixed, and think it safe to omit them here entirely. Also a few "Catholic" Armenians whom I met at Antiochia (ad Orontem) are to be excepted from my series, as they have a more prominent occiput; probably they are of mixed origin. If I omit these "Catholics," my series of true Armenians begins with a cephalic index of 83 and ends with one of 96, the maximum of frequency falling clearly at 88.

To this extreme brachycephaly corresponds a facial index oscillating between 77 and 96, with a maximum frequency of 87 and 88, and with an average of 87.5.

A series of 26 Armenian skulls begins with a cranial index of 81, ending with one of 91. A very typical skull from this series is figured here (pl. 11). and two good types are reproduced here (pl. 7).

SUMMARY.

If we now sum up the results of our researches and try to review them in regard to the origin of the different ethnic groups of western Asia, we need not linger over the Negroes, the Circassians, the Albanians, the Bulgarians, the Bosnians, the Franks, and the Levantines.

Their origin lies outside the scope of this paper. The same is true of the Gypsies and their kin, but it must be stated that perhaps one of the nomadic tribes in Asia Minor, the Yuruks, is in some way or other related with them.

Of far greater importance are the Kurds. From the great frequency of fair individuals among them, it is evident that their home must be in the north, and it is probable from their Aryan language that they are in some way connected with the Mitanni, who had Aryan divinities about 1280 B. C.

I am well aware that at present there is no real proof or decisive evidence for this statement, but, by way of a working hypothesis, I might be allowed to suggest that the Kurds, the Amorites of the Bible, the Mitanni of the Boghaz-köi tablets and the Tamehu of the old Egyptian texts are, if not identical, at least somehow related to one another.¹ About 1500 B. C., or earlier, there seems to have begun a migration of northern men to Asia Minor, Syria, Persia, Egypt, and India. Indeed, we can now connect even Further India with the Mitanni of Central Asia Minor. On the tablets of Boghaz-köi the king of Mitanni not only calls himself and his people "harri," but he speaks of his noblemen as "mari," and Hugo Winckler and F. C. Andreas² remind us of the word "marya" for "young man" or "hero" in the Vedic texts. So we find the same Aryan nobles in Mitanni about 1280 B. C., and very much later also in India.

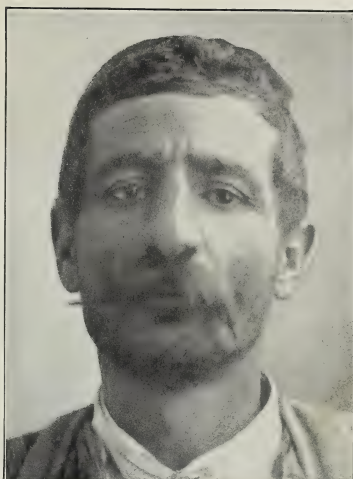
If really, as it seems, the old texts state that the Amorites and the Tamehu were fair, we should thus get a historic explanation of the great number of xanthochroic people we find down to our time everywhere in Asia Minor and in Syria, and among the modern Jews.

Resuming now the thread of this paper, we have a great number of different "Moslem" Sectaries spread over a vast part of western Asia under different names, as Tahtadji, Allevi, Ali-Ullahîya, Ansariyeh, Fellah, Kyzylbash, Yezidi, and Bektash, speaking the different languages of their orthodox neighbors, Turkish, Arabic, and Kurdish, but still absolutely homogeneous as to their somatic characteristics. And to this selfsame group belong also the Druses and the Maronites. They also have the enormously high and short "planoccipital" heads and the narrow and high noses we find with the Sectaries.

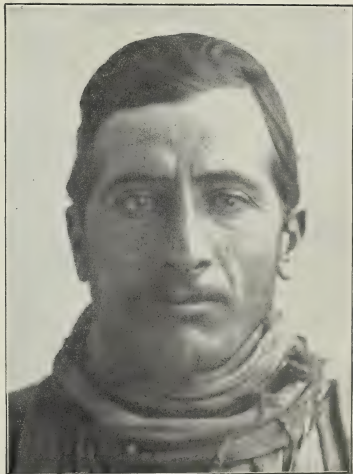
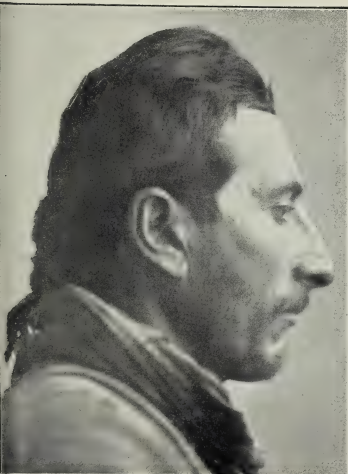
Now this same hypsiccephalic element with the high aquiline noses, which forms the entire stock of all these Sectaries, we find again in Persia, and in a high percentage among the Turks and the Greeks, and in a still higher among the Armenians—everywhere under circum-

¹ The latest migration of a European tribe to western Asia is that of the Galatians. Passing through Roumania, where the town of Galatz (Galati in Roumanian) has conserved their name, they crossed the Hellespont about 280 B. C. Angora and Gordion were their principal towns, and it is not impossible that the latter name, and then also that of the Gordyaeans and of the Kurds, is linguistically connected with that of the Galatians, who might have had earlier precursors.

² *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, 1910, p. 289 ss. Cf. also Ed. Meyer, "Das erste Auftreten der Arier in der Geschichte," in *Sitzungsberichte Berliner Akad. der Wissenschaften*, 1908, i.



STEPAN, ARMENIAN, KESSAB, DJEBEL AKRAH.



KYRIAKOS, ARMENIAN, DJEBEL AKRAH.





HITTITE DIVINITY, SENDJIRLI, SYRIA.



HITTITE GOD AND KING, IBRIZ (WITH HITTITE INSCRIPTION).



KING BARREKUB OF ŠAMĀL, AND QUEEN, ABOUT 730 B. C.
(WITH SEMITIC INSCRIPTION).

stances that would make it appear to be old and aboriginal, whilst the dolichocephals seem to represent later immigrations.

This theory, based entirely on anthropometric research, is confirmed by historic considerations and by the results of modern excavations. We now know that about 1280 B. C., when Khattusil made his peace with Rameses II, there existed a large empire, not much smaller than Germany, reaching from the Ægæan Sea to Mesopotamia and from Kadesh on the Orontes to the Black Sea. We do not know at present if this Hittite Empire ever had a really homogeneous population, but we have a good many Hittite reliefs, and all these, without one single exception, show us the high and short heads or the characteristic noses of our modern brachycephalic groups.

When I first upheld in 1892, in my paper on the anthropological position of the Jews, the homogeneous character of these groups, I called them "Armenoids." But there can be no doubt that they are all descended from tribes belonging to the great Hittite Empire. So it is the type of the Hittites that has been preserved in all these groups for more than 3,000 years, and this is certainly a Jewish type, and corresponds with the old Jewish ideal of beauty as we read in the Song of Songs, vii, 4: "Thine eyes are as the pools in Heshbon, by the gate of Bath-rabbim, thy nose is like the tower of Lebanon, which looketh toward Damascus."

But this Jewish type is not Semitic and is rarely found among the only real Semites, the Bedawy. The Hittite inscriptions have not yet been read, but our orientalist are unanimous in assuming that there is not the slightest doubt that the Hittite language was not Semitic. These non-Semitic aborigines had their own language, their own writing, and their own religion. Semitic influence is completely absent in the earlier times and is perceptible only later on at different times in the different territories—first in Babylonia, then in Palestine, where Abraham is the ἡρωὺς ἐπώνυμος of a Semitic invasion, and still later in Northern Syria. Here my own excavations¹ in Sendjirli, the old Šamāl, have brought to light a Semitic inscription of King Kalamu, son of Yadi, from about 850 B. C., invoking Baal Samed, Baal Haman, and Rekubêl. Another inscription of King Panamu from about 800 B. C., on a statue of Hadad, praises Hadad himself and four other Semitic divinities, El, Rešef, Rekubêl, and Šemeš.

As Tešup, the great chief-god of the Hittites, is not mentioned in any of the Semitic inscriptions of Sendjirli, we may suppose that about 900 B. C., or earlier, independent of the Assyrian conquests, Semitic invaders brought with them their language, their alphabet, their writing, and their religion, to northern Syria, but we know nothing of their number, and we are not able from historical data

¹ Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli, parts 1-4. Berlin, Georg Reimer, 1893-1911.

to form an exact opinion as to how far these invaders could influence the somatic characters of the old Hittite population.

I give here (pl. 10) the portraits of a later king of Šamál, Barrekub, from about 730 B. C., and of his queen. The king has certainly not a Hittite profile, and he might well himself be of Semitic origin, but probably a great number of his subjects had preserved the old Hittite characteristics, and even the queen herself looks as she were not quite without Hittite blood.¹

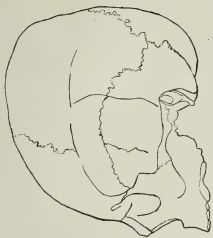
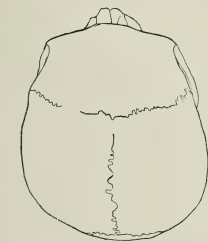
For the present population of northern Syria, as well as of all western Asia, our anthropometric tables show evidence that this old type is still extant in a high percentage among the actual inhabitants.

Only as to the primordial home of the Hittites, or however else we may term all these hypsi- and brachycephalic people with the high and narrow nose, is there some difficulty. The "Alpine race" of central Europe is certainly somehow related to or connected with them and a priori it is not easy to determine if the Hittites came from central Europe or if the "Alpine race" came from western Asia. I do not know if the first possibility has many champions left now. If so, they might certainly lay stress on the fact that the modern Armenians and the modern Persians, both typical "Hittites," are now speaking Aryan languages, but we know how often ethnic groups change their language entirely without losing their somatic type, and we can in this special case well imagine that early precursors of the xanthochroic Kurds and their relations may have brought their Aryan language to the old Armenians and Persians without being able to impress their somatic type upon them.

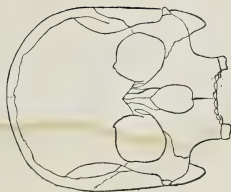
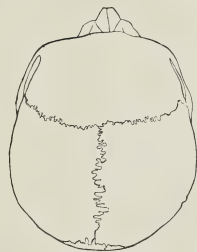
We should not forget, too, that Europe is only a small peninsular annexe to Asia, and that there are infinitely more typical "Hittites" in western Asia than there are in Europe. It seems surer, therefore, to locate the cradle of the Hittites in Asia, where we find extreme brachycephals as far to the east as Burma and Siam and the Malay Archipelago.

We could then also understand how the essential somatic difference between the Hittites and the other brachycephalic Asiatics—their high and narrow nose—originated as a merely accidental mutation and was then locally fixed, either by a certain tendency of taste and fashion or by long, perhaps millennial, inbreeding. The "Hittite nose" has finally become a *dominant* characteristic in the Mendelian sense, and we see it, not only in the actual geographical province of the Alpine race, but often enough also here in England. Certainly, similar noses may originate everywhere, quite independently of the

¹ Typical portraits of Hittite divinities, excavated at Sendjirli, are here reproduced on pls. 8 and 9, and the rock sculpture of Ibriz (cf. here pl. 9) shows a Hittite god and king, both with extreme "Jewishness." On Egyptian monuments Hittites are always figured with a profile like the modern Armenian (pl. 2). The young "Kurd" Sulo (pl. 2), also belongs to this group; his mother, whose type he has inherited, is an Armenian woman.

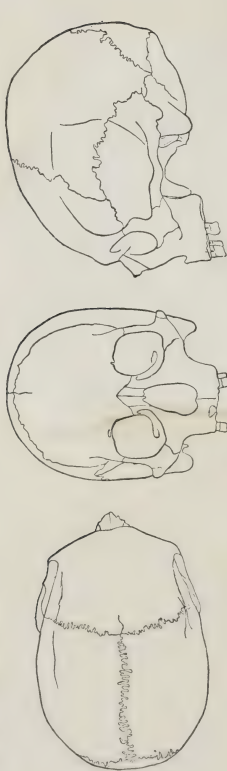


SKULL OF TAHTADJI FROM NEAR OLD KADYANDA, LYCIA.



SKULL OF TYPICAL ARMENIAN.

Smithsonian Report, 1914.—Luschan.



SKULL OF BEDOUIN FROM NEAR PALMYRA.



SKULL OF MODERN "GREEK," ADALIA.

Hittites, by mere mutation, but it seems safer to explain by atavism and by Asiatic or Alpine origin noses like those of the late Cardinal Newman, Ralph Waldo Emerson, or Charles Kingsley.

So, to sum up, we see how all western Asia was originally inhabited by a homogeneous, melanochroic race, with extreme hypsi-brachycephaly and with a "Hittite" nose. About 4000 B. C. began a Semitic invasion from the southeast, probably from Arabia, by people looking like modern Bedawy. Two thousand years later commenced a second invasion, this time from the northwest, by xanthochroous and long-headed tribes like the modern Kurds, half savage, and in some way or other, perhaps, connected with the historic Harri, Amorites, Tamehu, and Galatians.

The modern "Turks," Greeks, and Jews are, all three, equally composed of these three elements, the Hittite, the Semitic, and the xanthochroous Nordic. Not so the Armenians and the Persians. They, and still more the Druses, Maronites, and the smaller sectarian groups of Syria and Asia Minor, represent the old Hittite element, and are little, or not at all, influenced by the somatic characters of alien invaders.

Combinations of philology with anthropology have in former times, especially through Friedrich Müller and his school, often led to serious mistakes. One spoke of Aryan races instead of people with Aryan languages, and one went so far as to speak of Aryan skulls and of Aryan eyes, so that Max Müller formally protested against the intrusion of linguistics into ethnology, stating that one might just as well speak of a brachycephalic grammar as of an Aryan skull.

Still there is a solidarity between the historical sciences and natural history, and in proof of this solidarity I have ventured—in the spirit and in honor of Thomas Henry Huxley—to give argument and evidence.



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POPULAR JAPANESE STORIES.

TOGETHER WITH

MITSUYAE:

A STORY OF THE SAIGO WAR.

BY

GEORGE J. PENNEY.



KOBE:

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE "HYOGO NEWS" CO.

1890.

PREFACE.

THE tales given in this book, several of which have already appeared in the *Hyogo News*, are some of the best known and most popular among the Japanese; and will, it is hoped, interest not only foreigners, but also the many Japanese who are familiar with the language in which they are now published. They will find it good practice to read, in English, stories which were familiar to them in their childhood.

It is believed by the writer, a teacher of English of long standing in Japanese schools, that this book will be found useful in such establishments as a Reader, and that it will prove a help to English teachers, who find it somewhat difficult to obtain interesting matter with which to vary the Conversation lesson. The principal stories here will supply them with material which will not fail in securing the ready interest of the pupils.

To several of my students, past and present, of the Shiga Ken Commercial School, am I indebted for information which has enabled me to give to the public these folk-lore stories and legends of notable persons of the olden time, and to all who gave me such ready and willing help do I return my sincere thanks.

GEORGE J. PENNEY.

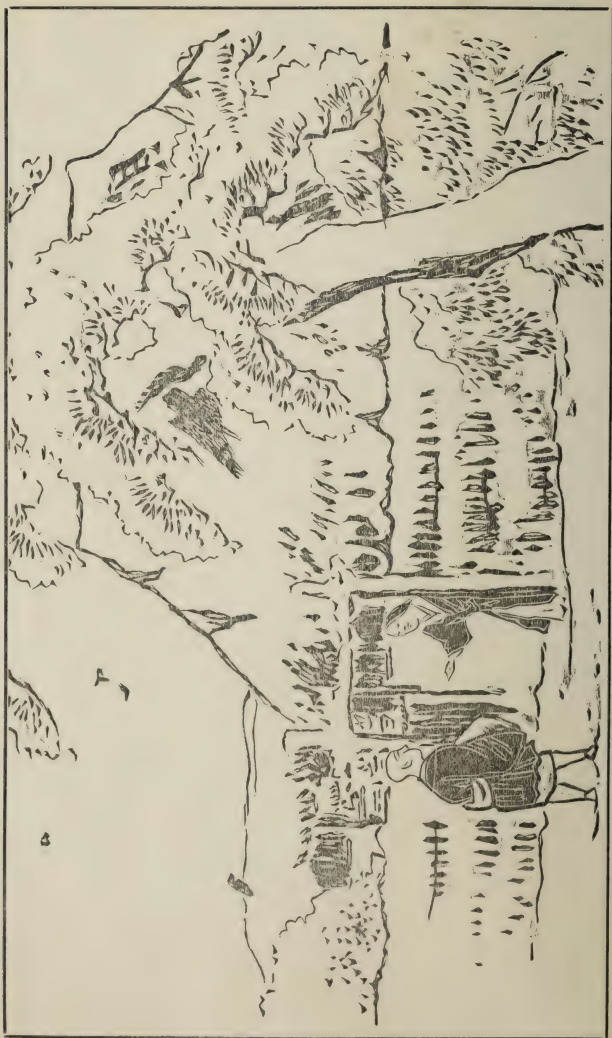
OTSU: August 1890.

CONTENTS.

THE THREE SMALL TREES: AN INCIDENT IN THE LIFE OF HOJO TOKIYORI <i>Hashi no ki</i>	1 <i>Ma</i>
SEM MARU	9
KAZUTOYO'S FAST HORSE	11
BENKEI	17
TAKARABE YAGORO	21
THE GOOD FORTUNE OF MINAMOTO YORITOMO	22
ONO-NO-TOFU	23
AN INCIDENT IN THE CHILDHOOD OF YOSHITSUNE	27
DATE MASAMUNE AND THE IDOL	33
STORIES OF ARTISTS	35
KUMASAKA CHOHAN <i>Way of Yoshitsune</i>	37
ANECDOTES OF MASASHIGE <i>M</i>	40
YASUMASA AND THE ROBBER	42
AN UNEQUAL CONTEST... ..	44
A JAPANESE GUNPOWDER PLOT	48
YOSHITSUNE CROSSING HIYODORIGOYE	50
KUMAGAWA RIOKAI	54
KUMAWAKA MARU	56
INCIDENTS IN THE BOYHOOD OF TOYOTOMI HIDEYOSHI	58

KATO KIYOMASA	60
A COMBAT IN THE OLDEN TIME	62
A BRAVE GIRL	64
HOW MASAHIDE PERFORMED HIS TRUST	66
MORI MOTONARI'S WISDOM... ..	69
A JAPANESE AMAZON	70
THE FATE OF ISHIKAWA GOYEMON	73
THE JUDGE'S RUSE	76
THE SHOGUN TAUGHT BY A PRIEST	78
THE FOX AND THE CRAB	80
IWAMI JUTARO'S REVENGE	82
THE WISDOM OF JUDGE OOKA	84

MITSUYAE: A STORY OF THE SAIGO WAR	85
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JAPANESE POPULAR STORIES.

THE THREE SMALL TREES.

AN INCIDENT IN THE LIFE OF HOJO TOKIYORI.

A LITTLE more than seven hundred years ago, the military government of Japan was established by Minamoto Yoritomo. Soon after his death, however, the reins of power fell into the hands of the Hojo family. These rulers were called *Shukken*, and they governed for about one hundred and forty years. Probably few other rulers have been more popular, for they sought the good of the people and were careful of their liberties.

Of the twelve *Shukken*, Tokiyori stands pre-eminent for his unselfish devotion to the public interest. He often travelled through the country disguised as a priest in order to observe the condition of his people. A story relating to one of his journeys is told in the "*Utai*"—a book written in two parts, and containing those stately Recitatives which the daimio in feudal times were so fond of delivering.

It was in the afternoon of a cold midwinter's day that a priest, footsore and weary, came to the bank of the Sano river in Kozuke. The wind blew in fitful gusts, whistling through the tall reeds and mingling its music with the dreary sound of the river—serving to make only more intense the cheerlessness felt by the wanderer as he gazed through the falling snow-

flakes at the monotony of the prospect, unbroken by the sight of a single individual save himself, and offering no shelter for him in his weariness.

"Oh, snow!" muttered the priest, "I have left Shinano, where I suffered much hardship on account of you, and am on my way to Kamakura, to be relieved of your presence. I little wished to see a silver world here, nor to experience such discomfort as your icy touch and this dreary prospect gives. But I must push on, for I would fain rest my aching limbs—if only in the hut of the lowliest peasant."

A turn in the road brought the wayfarer to a small and miserable hovel, thatched with straw. At his summons the door was opened by a woman poorly and humbly dressed, but whose noble features and superior manners accorded little with her garb and surroundings.

"Pray pardon me! I am a priest and have travelled far. My weariness and these blinding snow-flakes make it almost impossible for me to proceed. I shall be grateful for even the rudest bed if I may be allowed to pass the night here."

"I am very sorry to hear of your sad need, and yet be obliged to refuse your request, sir. My husband is absent, and therefore I cannot permit a man to stay in his house."

Then said the priest sorrowfully, "I must stand outside and await his coming."

"Yes, if you wish."

He stood there, and she unwillingly went in. "How incessantly the snow falls," thought the priest. "To a person with comfortable surroundings the sight of it often brings joy. A Chinese poet has said—'When the snow falls the air is full of goose-down.' Often have I looked with pleasure at the falling flakes, but under very different conditions than at present. Instead of a garment of cranes' down I am covered only with cotton cloth, so ragged that every gust finds its way to my very marrow. Oh, disagreeable, snowy day!"

The cottager's wife could ill bear to think of the priest exposed to the storm. But, having been taught the Confucian doctrine that a wife is immoral who shelters a stranger in her husband's absence, she could not act according to the dictates of her heart and call the man in. She, however, decided to go in search of her husband, and had not got far from the house when she met him returning.

"Why, what brings you abroad on such a day?" he asked.

"A priest," she replied, "came to our cottage and requested to stay the night. On my telling him that you were absent, he awaited your coming at the door. But he is evidently tired and will be ill if he proceeds further. I could not bear to see him suffer, so I have sought you to ask shelter for him."

The priest, who had followed close on the footsteps of the woman, here said—"It is of me she speaks. I pray you allow me to stay in your honourable abode to-night."

"I would like to grant your request," sadly replied the cottager. "But, alas, my hut is, as you see, too dirty and too small to be placed at your service. And we are too poor to entertain you in a fitting manner. If you will walk eighteen cho* further on, you will reach Yamamoto-mura, where there are hotels and you can be well entertained. I pray you go quickly ere it becomes dark."

"Then do you refuse my request?"

"I am sorry that my poverty makes me seem unkind, but I have no other alternative."

"So," said the priest, with a long sigh, "I have waited here cold and hungry uselessly." Leaning heavily on his stick, he started for Yamamoto. Then the wife, who had stood with downcast eyes, hiding her shame at the refusal, said:—

"How wretched are we! I wonder if such misfortune has been brought upon us by our wrong-doing in a former state, as Buddhism teaches. We may, perhaps, secure the favour of Buddha and also future happiness by extending such hospitality as is in our power to the poor priest, who, I am afraid, may perish in the snow."

"There is much in what you say," remarked her husband, "but why did you not speak in that way before the priest had departed?" He failed to see that his wife would not urge an interested motive before the stranger, out of respect to her husband.

"I will go after him. He cannot have got far. Ho! traveller! traveller!"

"He cannot hear me for the noise of the storm! I must overtake him, and bring him back."

* About 1.22 miles.

At last, coming up with him, he said—"Please come to my hut. I am afraid you run too great a risk in attempting to reach Yamamoto."

Hearing this, the priest gladly returned to the solitary cottage, and ate with much zest the millet that formed their sole supply of food. Poor as it was, he was thankful for it.

"The cold becomes more intense as the night deepens," said the host, "and I am ashamed to say that there is no fuel for a fire for you." But suddenly he cried—"Oh, there are some small dwarfed trees in pots, and I will gladly cut *them* up to give you a little warmth. I am sorry there are but three remaining to me—a cherry, a plum, and a pine tree. I had many such fanciful trifles when my circumstances were brighter, for I am very fond of flowers and trees. But now I have only these, and they shall go to give you a little comfort." And, regardless of the priest's entreaties to the contrary, he chopped up the trees and soon had a fire lighted, saying as he did so—"It is all I can do for Buddha's servant. Perhaps Buddha will recompense me for it by-and-bye."

"I am truly grateful for your action," said the priest, "Now, what is your name?"

"I am a common peasant, and, as such, am afraid that my name has no interest for you."

"Somehow I fancy you are not an ordinary labourer. Your speech and manners are not of that class. There is no need to keep secret your name from me. I pray you let me hear it."

Lifting his head proudly, the peasant said—"I am Sano Genzaemon Tsuneyo—brought to poverty by no fault of my own."

"What! are you that famous nobleman? Then why do I find you in this state?"

"Because some of my kindred have wrongfully dispossessed me of house and land."

"Why then have you not presented yourself before the Shukken, at Kamakura, and stated the facts?"

"Fate," said Tsuneyo, "seems to be against me. The Shukken is travelling, disguised as a priest, and I have been unable to bring my case before him."

At this the priest changed countenance, but he spoke not a word. After a pause Tsuneyo continued:—

"I am indeed in miserable plight. My horse is thin, being ill-fed. My spear is rusted; and all hope that remains for me is that if the government at Kamakura ever be assailed by a rival faction, I may make my way thither and fall on the side of the Shukken. Had I not this hope I would end my days with my sword, and not struggle day after day against hunger and hardship."

"Don't lose all hope," said the priest. "Perhaps Buddha will send you better fortune. Good-bye, my kind friends, I will see you again before long."

His host and hostess were surprised at his sudden determination to depart. "Why," said the wife, "are you leaving us? At first we were ashamed to entertain you under our poor roof, but we have so much enjoyed your society that we hope you will stay till daybreak. Why go out into the snow and darkness?"

"Thank you, I am rested, and must proceed on my way. If you come to Kamakura, ask for me. I am a priest, but am well known to the Shukken and may be able to do you much service. Farewell!"

A few days after, Sano Genzaemon heard that the neighbouring daimio and their followers were summoned to Kamakura. Thinking that rebellion had broken out, he determined to go and offer himself in the army of the Shukken. So he hurried to the palace as fast as his lean and sorry nag would carry him, and was an object of ridicule to the well-mounted cavaliers he encountered on the way.

Arrived at the palace, an officer came, and, bowing low before him, said—"I am commanded by the Shukken to lead you before him."

"You are mistaken. It is impossible that he wants *me*. I am utterly unknown to him or to any here."

"I am not mistaken at all. Pray come with me, at once."

Sano Genzaemon thereupon thought that his journey had become known to his relations, and that they had charged him with treason. But, conscious of his loyalty and honesty, he went, trusting in Heaven.

Hojo Tokiyori, the Shukken, was seated near the front of his mansion, and, sitting in rows near, were the daimio who had recently obeyed his summons to Kamakura. The sunlight was reflected from their splendid weapons, but Sano, poorly dressed and armed, walked simply forward and bowed gracefully before the Shukken. The assembled warriors laughed scornfully at so ill-dressed a cavalier.

Then the Shukken said, with a glad smile:—"Tsuneyo, have you forgotten me? I am the priest for whom you cut up your three trees. I have assembled my army in order to test your patriotism, and am glad to find you true to your promise. I have issued commands that your estates be returned to you, and, in addition, wish to reward you for your unselfish sacrifice of your prized trees. If I remember rightly, they were the cherry, the plum, and the pine. So I will give you, in lieu, three provinces—Umeda (Plum Field) in Kaga; Sakurai (Cherry and Spring) in Yetchiu; and Matsueda (Pine Branch) in Kozuke.

SEM MARU.

SEM MARU, the son of the Emperor Murakami, lived at Osaka Yama, near Otsu. Although blind, he was a very talented musician, playing very skilfully on the *biwa*. When he played those who listened were astonished at his performance, and numbers of good musicians longed to emulate his skill.

But, although frequently requested to teach others, he always refused—perhaps thinking that it would be time and trouble thrown away, because none of those who wanted to be taught would practise sufficiently to acquire the skill that he possessed.

One of those who delighted to listen to the blind musician was Minamoto Hiromasa, no mean performer on the *biwa*, and one who was known to have a good knowledge of the principles of music. He looked up to Sem Maru as the greatest living performer on the instrument he loved, and lamented that if the latter died without imparting to another the secret of his beautiful playing the loss would be a national one. Hence for three years Hiromasa went nightly to Osaka Yama and listened to the brilliant execution of the blind player.

One moonlight night in autumn he went to hear the music as usual, and walked to and fro near the house. It was a very beautiful night, and a cool west wind was blowing. Sem Maru threw open the *shoji*, thus admitting a flood of brilliant moonlight. Then he commenced a charming and delightful air. Hiromasa, peeping through the fence, was listening attentively to him. The moon's rays, falling strongest upon the musician, showed his face lit up with pleasure in his own playing not secondary to that which he imparted to those who listened. The musician went on;

but in a short time he paused, and audibly regretted his loneliness. Hiromasa entered the house at once, and, taking the musician's hand, told him that he had listened every night to his playing for the last three years. He begged to be allowed to come and keep him company and learn from him the secret of those divine strains to which he had long listened. Sem Maru was inexpressibly touched by such proof of Hiromasa's willingness to study the instrument thoroughly, and willingly offered to teach him all that he knew.

Even at this time both Sem Maru and Hiromasa are remembered as talented musicians and singers, and a temple was built in honour of the former at Osaka Yama, at which lovers of music worship.

KAZUTOYO'S FAST HORSE.

ODA NOBUNAGA, one of the most celebrated men in Japanese history, built a castle at Azuchi Yama, in Omi. He cut a canal from the castle to Lake Biwa, and was thus enabled to take supplies of provisions, &c., by boat, from all the Lake district to his fortress. As he was frequently engaged in warlike expeditions, the castle was under the charge of a governor, under whom were several principal *shizoku* as captains. One of these captains was Kazutoyo, and it is of him that our story treats. While Nobunaga was absent at Kyoto, one day a trader from one of the eastern ken brought a horse to Azuchi Castle for sale. It was an exceedingly fine animal; in fact, there was not, within a considerable radius of the castle, anything to be compared to it. The governor of the castle looked at the animal with longing eyes, but the price asked was large, and just then he was possessed of but little. Kazutoyo observed the governor turn away with a sigh of disappointment, as he was thinking how much he, himself, would like to possess such an animal, and what a disgrace it was that not one of the retainers of Nobunaga could afford to buy it. These thoughts clung to him after he had retired to his apartments, and his wife, seeing him preoccupied and anxious, asked him the reason. But he, thinking that her sympathy would be of small use in the present case, and, perhaps, feeling the pinch of their poverty rather severely, answered somewhat roughly that "it was nothing in which she could help him." She, however, persisted in her questioning; and at last he told her how much he coveted the horse, adding, "If only one of Nobunaga's retainers could be seen on such

a fine animal, how well it would speak for the Clan, and how the retainers of other nobles would envy the rider." The good woman then asked the price of the animal, and was informed that it was ten *riyo*. She appeared to think for a moment: then, going into another room, soon returned with the amount he had named and placed it down before him. A quick flush of pleasure overspread the face of Kazutoyo; but, almost as soon, a feeling of suspicion was roused within him, and he said in a quick angry tone: "Whence am I to suppose you obtained this money, and why have you hoarded it, seeing that lately we have often been almost without common necessities?"—"Your anger is very reasonable, my husband," said she; "but, listen, and I will satisfy you that I have done wisely in hoarding the money, although many times I have been sorely tempted to use it. When we married, my father gave me this sum and said, 'You must not spend it; but must keep it against some great and pressing need.' I know that the races will shortly take place in Kyoto before the Shogun, and, as you are unequalled as a rider, I am confident that, with the horse you have spoken to me about, you will win great honour. Therefore take my father's wedding-present and use it in your present need." Words cannot express Kazutoyo's gratitude to his wife; and the good woman's cheek flushed with pleasure when he praised her for her wisdom. "You are the good daughter of a wise father," he said, "and both to him and to you am I greatly indebted."

In shorter time almost than it takes to tell the story, Kazutoyo repaired to the place where the trader waited with the horse, and soon became the proud owner of the magnificent animal. Shortly afterwards he started off for Kyoto, to attend the races, and had scarcely arrived when Nobunaga noticed the remarkably fine horse that he bestrode. "Where did you get that animal?" he said. "There is not one of my retainers mounted as you are. No, not even in my own stable can anything better be seen!" Kazutoyo told Nobunaga the whole circumstance respecting the buying of the horse, and the chieftain, laughing, said: "You are a fortunate man! To be possessed of the best horse and the wisest wife is something that even I can envy you. But that only one of my officers could purchase the animal causes me a feeling of sadness. It would indeed have been disgraceful if, after giving my people the option of buying the horse, the trader had taken it to one of my rivals. You,

therefore, have saved the name of Nobunaga from disgrace, and when we return to Azuchi I will give you one thousand koku of rice yearly instead of what you now receive, and my thanks also shall be conveyed to your wife for her wisdom and carefulness, and for so faithfully following the advice of her father."

It may interest some to know that Kazutoyo was the ancestor of Yamanouchi, the present daimyo of Tosa.

Crane Wife

By MOCK JOYA

There are many tales of fish, foxes, snakes, and birds repaying human kindness. Some turn into beautiful women and marry the men who saved them. One of the most widely told stories is about tsuru-nyobo or the crane wife.

One honest young man, while cutting grass on a hillside, saw a tsuru or crane, unable to fly or walk, as an arrow had pierced its body. Taking pity on the bird, he drew out the arrow and released it.

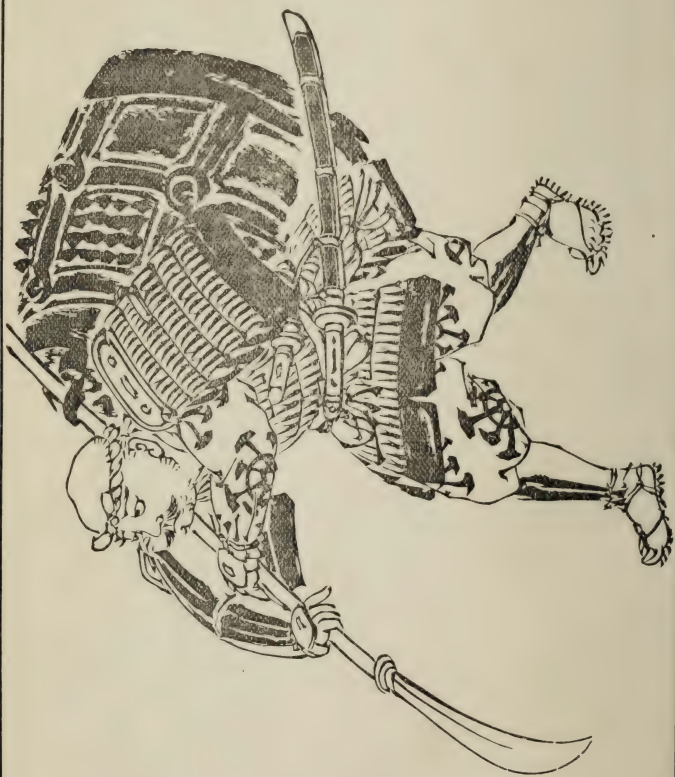
A few nights later, a strange girl came to his door. As she stayed with him, she became his wife. The young man was poor, and as the New Year approached he could not make proper preparations for the annual celebration. His wife sat at her loom and wove a beautiful cloth. He took the fabric to the lord of the district. Very much pleased with the beautiful cloth, the lord paid well, and then ordered another piece of a similar fabric.

When he returned home with money and told his wife that the lord wanted another piece, she became very sad. She said she did not know if she could make another piece, but she would try. She made her husband promise that he would not enter the room where she would be weaving until the fabric was finished.

The young man was curious and peeped into her room. He found a lean crane that was almost featherless picking a few stray feathers to feed into the loom. As she saw her husband peering in, she said angrily, "You promised not to look. I am the crane you saved, and I came to serve you. I was not sure I had enough feathers left to weave another piece."

So saying, she quickly left the house. The husband went after her but could not find her.



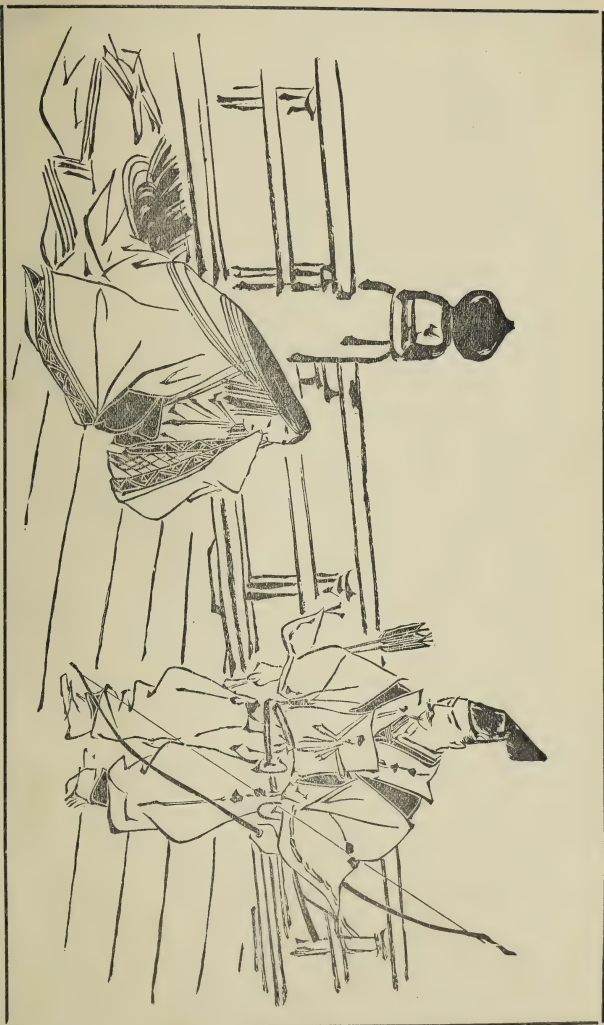


BENKEI.

BENKEI, a Buddhist priest of Hiyesan, may fairly be considered the Samson of Japan. Neither before his time, nor since, has any one performed such wonderful feats of strength. It is said that while he lived at Hiyesan several temples were in course of construction, and on one occasion fifty *ninsoku* were employed to carry a large stone from the valley up to a temple where it was to form part of the structure. But the united strength of the fifty labourers was not sufficient to move it. In the emergency Benkei was applied to, and he, stretching forth his single arm, lifted the stone easily, and carried it to its place up the mountain. Shortly after this display of his great strength, he was staying at Shioshan. One evening he walked out to enjoy a cool seat near the river. Not seeing a convenient resting place, he bent a large willow tree that grew on the river bank, and, sitting on it, bathed his feet in the stream. Several persons came by, who, seeing Benkei so comfortably seated, thought they would enjoy a seat on the same tree. Presently Benkei wished to get off, so he warned the others that if he rose the tree would spring up. They, however, did not heed him, so to punish them he sprang suddenly off, and the tree, flying up, sent the others into the stream to enjoy an unlooked-for bath.

There is an old bell at Miidera, Otsu, called Benkei's Bell. It is said to be more than eight hundred years old, and was given to Hidesato by the chief of the *Riugu*—a wealthy kingdom of women who lived at the bottom of Lake Biwa. Hidesato slew a huge centipede that made its home at Mikani Yama, and which was so long that, with part of its body wound more than seven times round the mountain, its head would reach Seta bridge, a distance of four miles or more. This centipede had often made excursions under the lake and had greatly terrified the inhabitants of *Riugu*.

Hidesato was a noted warrior who had been made governor of Omi for deeds of bravery, and he determined to rid the neighbourhood of the monster. So, taking a bow and three arrows, for he was a skilful marksman, he encountered the monster at Seta bridge. Two arrows were shot without effect, but the third penetrated the brain, and the monster lay dead. The Ringu were very glad to be rid of their troublesome visitor, and their beautiful chief gave Hidesato rich presents and also the bell from her palace. Hidesato had it carried to Miidera Monastery, where it now hangs, and is visited by numbers of pilgrims and sightseers. But it did not always remain at Miidera, for while Benkei lived at Hiyesan the warrior priests of that place coveted the bell and asked Benkei to steal it and carry it to the top of Hiyesan. He was reluctant at first, but afterwards stipulated that, if the priests would give him as much soup as he could drink, he would steal the bell. Possibly Benkei, knowing his capacity for soup, thought it would be impossible for the priests to find a saucepan large enough to hold all he could take. But they were not to be disappointed of the bell, for they had an immense iron bowl cast that held more soup than even Benkei could swallow. They thus satisfied him, and he carried the bell to the summit of the mountain. But when there it would only ring, "I want to go back to Miidera," so the priests of Hiyesan, in a rage, had it hurled down the side of the mountain. In its descent it received many scratches from contact with stones, and these can be seen upon it now as it hangs in its original place at Miidera. The soup bowl may also be seen near, and its rusted and decayed condition seem to testify to its age and to the almost apparent truth of this story.



TAKARABE YAGORO.

MANY years ago lived Takarabe Yagoro, whose duty it was to perform as a musician and dancer before the members of the *Bakafu*, and sometimes to take part in the dancing held at a temple. At one time one of the daimyo, his patrons, sent for him to amuse him. Yagoro disguised himself as a female and danced and sang in a manner that elicited the warmest appreciation from the daimyo. He then approached a bell, which, when the dancer had given a signal, was lowered so as to completely cover him and hide him from view. It was usual for dancers to find a mask representing the face of a demon, or of some other character which they were to assume, placed inside the bell. But on this occasion Yagoro found that, either by inadvertence, or by intent on the part of rival dancers, the demon's mask was not in the bell. For some time he was considerably disconcerted ; but, thinking that it would never do for his rivals to secure an easy triumph, he resolved upon something that would probably cause no little consternation, yet amusement. He therefore bit his fingers till they bled freely, and smeared the mask that he wore in the previous dance with his blood. He then gave the signal for the bell to be raised. While going through the performance, the pain of his wounds and the intensity of his anger against those whom he thought had played him the trick caused his hair to rise on end, and this, combined with his bloody mask and the earnestness with which he played his rôle of the demon, made the dance more than usually successful. So much so, indeed, that when it was finished the daimyo called Yagoro to him and soon learned the reason of his appearing in his strange mask. He was presented with a sum of money and the daimyo begged the mask from him and kept it. It was known as the "Blood-smeared Mask."

THE GOOD FORTUNE OF MINAMOTO YORITOMO.

WHEN Minamoto Yoritomo was defeated at the battle of Ishibashiyama, his chances of escape from his enemies seemed almost hopeless. He therefore held hurried consultation with Sanehira and some others of his attendants as to any means of eluding those who thirsted for his life.

His followers immediately separated, and searching here and there at last espied a hollow place under the roots of a decayed tree ; and into this the chieftain and Sanehira made their way while the rest rode off. While they lay thus concealed, Oba Kagechika and Kajiware Kagetoki came by in hot pursuit. But Kagechika espied the hollow place, and, thinking it might prove the hiding-place of the fugitives, ordered Kagetoki to crawl in and search. He immediately did so, and saw Yoritomo and his follower. But, feeling only compassion for the defeated warrior, he reported that the place was empty, and to further convince Kagechika of the truth of his statement he drew his attention to a spider's web which had clung to part of his armour. "This," said he, "which was across the entrance to the cave, proves that no one could have entered recently." But the other remained still somewhat in doubt, and so, to make thoroughly sure, he dismounted from his horse and felt in the hollow with the end of his bow. Just as the bow was within a few inches of Yoritomo, and he and his companion were preparing to sell their lives dearly, two wood-pigeons flew out of their place of concealment, and this so convinced Kagechika that he at once remounted his horse and rode off in another direction.

Some few years after, Yoritomo became Shogun, and sent for Kagetoki, whom he liberally rewarded for his humanity, and appointed him one of his personal attendants.

ONO-NO-TOFU.

WRITING, especially that done in a bygone age, is highly prized in this country. Scholars turn their eyes upon faded remnants, containing, perhaps, only a few characters, but by a master of the art, and those eyes light up with pleasure as they study each turn and twist, each upward and downward stroke, and recognize, by the peculiar style, the hand that had long ago traced them. Even a merchant, from whom necessity has exacted long practice of frugality—frugality that has ripened into avarice, insomuch that he thinks it too great a sacrifice to purchase a new year's present for his only son—even such a one considers his hoarded gold as nothing when required for things written by celebrated persons. Every palace, every hall, every temple, and every house and cottage contains some written souvenir on screen or *kakemono*. Wealthy or poor, learned or unlettered, old and young look with pleasure at characters traced by hands that are now dust. Thus there have appeared many celebrated masters to satisfy the popular desire. One of the most famous of these writers was Ono Tofu, the subject of this sketch, who lived one thousand years ago. But he did not attain to excellence till very late in life, and then only after most earnest and persistent practice: for we read that when he was of middle age he became so discouraged by the apparent hopelessness of satisfying his ideal, that he had almost resolved to discontinue all effort in that direction and choose some other walk in life. While he was still labouring under a sense of having entirely mistaken his vocation, and after a day of tiring and seemingly unsatisfactory work, he chanced one day to walk in his garden for recreation, and for relief from the thoughts that so heavily oppressed him. Withdrawing his eyes from more distant objects, his gaze rested on the roots of the tree under which he sat, and there on the ground was a little blue frog of a kind

called *amagaeru*, as it appears after rain during the warm season. It was trying to reach the end of a branch that drooped nearly to the ground. It made trial after trial before its efforts were rewarded with success, and this so impressed the hitherto weary and depressed writer that he resolved to try by patience and perseverance to reach to an ideal which, up to now, had seemed hopeless and impracticable. He devoted himself to his work day and night ; and, conquering his inability—it may more properly be said his great ability was not yet developed—he made his name known far and near, and “left his footprints on the sands of time.”



AN INCIDENT IN THE CHILDHOOD OF YOSHITSUNE.

ONE bitterly cold day in midwinter, a tall and distinguished-looking woman could be seen making her way wearily from Kyoto, on through the blinding fast-falling snow towards Fushimi. Her feet were bare, save for the low snow-shoes she had donned previous to her hurried flight. Pressed close to her bosom, and protected by his mother's garments from the cold and damp of the storm, was a babe, destined in after life to play no mean part in the history of his country and in the defence of his sovereign. A sturdy little fellow grasped the mother's right hand and trudged bravely on by her side; while following closely was his elder brother, both bearing unmistakable evidence that some distinguished family claimed them as scions.

For some time before the events recorded in this story, the rival families of the Minamoto and Taira had carried on a bitter feud (known in history as the "War of Heiji"), and in the decisive battle that was fought at Kyoto the Minamoto were completely vanquished. Many of their bravest and ablest warriors were killed in the fight or in the pursuit. Their brave but unfortunate chief, Yoshitomo, fled to Owari, only to be betrayed by his treacherous dependant, Osada Tadamune, and to suffer death at the hands of the implacable Taira chief, Kiyomori. After the death of Yoshitomo, a vigorous search was instituted by Kiyomori for any of the Minamoto who still lived, his orders to his officers being "that not a single member of the family should be spared, but that they should be exterminated root and branch." Tokiwa, mother of Yoshitomo's children, heard of the dire purpose of the Taira chief, and sought safety in instant flight. And thus we see her, as described in the opening sentences of this story, making her way through the blinding storm to a place of safety for her children. In her arms is Ushiwaka, afterwards known as Yoshitsune, and his brothers are Imawaka and Otowaka. Several times did

the courage of the gently-nurtured lady nearly desert her during the cold and perilous journey. But thoughts of her dead lord, and the almost terrible certainty that a like fate awaited his noble sons should they fall into the hands of him who had caused their father to be slain, gave her strength and nerved her to push on till she had gained a place of present security for her loved ones.

Kiyomori soon heard of the flight of Tokiwa, and spared no pains to discover the place of concealment of the children. But his efforts were vain, for the time at least, and this angered him and made him the more resolved to take summary vengeance upon them when he got them into his power. He gave orders for Tokiwa to be brought before him, that he might, by threatening her, obtain a clue to their hiding place. With a beating heart the brave mother came into the presence of him who had slain Yoshitomo, expecting to be tortured into betraying the hiding place of her children. She prayed for firmness to bear any degree of pain that might be inflicted, not dreading the torture if she did not, in her weakness, impart the secret that Kiyomori longed for. He at once noticed the anxiety of Tokiwa, and also that she was exceeding fair to look upon. His anger was immediately softened by the impression of her beauty, and unworthy thoughts and desires entered his mind respecting her. Speaking, therefore, gently, and calling her to him, he said : "Tokiwa, mother of the sons of my enemy, you have hidden those whose lives, but a short time ago, I was resolved to take. But my admiration of your beauty and grace has so far conquered the hatred I bear to all of their race that I will spare their lives on one condition." The quick start of fear that Tokiwa gave, and the paleness that overspread her features, told Kiyomori that he was only too well understood. Continuing, he said : "I have seen none so beautiful as you ; and as I perceive that you understand the condition, and that condition only, on which I will spare the lives of your sons, it is for you to decide whether they live or die." A quick flush of shame succeeded the paleness, and Tokiwa clenched her hands as if she would have struck the slayer of her lord. "Rather would I die," she cried, "than consent to such a dishonouring proposal. Oh, that the mother of Minamoto princes should fall into the hands of such as thou ! Kill me, and I will gladly welcome death to dishonouring the memory of Yoshitomo. But, as you hope for the welfare of your own son, I pray you spare the lives of mine. They cannot injure the powerful Taira !"

There have not been wanting those who have stated that the persistent threats of Kiyomori, added to the mother's anxiety for the lives of her children, caused Tokiwa at length to dishonour the memory of Yoshitomo, but such statements have been contradicted upon high authority. And others again have stated that Tokiwa was the daughter of Kiyomori, changed by his wife at the time of the child's birth for the son of an umbrella maker. It is well known that Munemori, son of Kiyomori, lacked the courage of his reputed father, and had not the nature of one whose ancestors were noble. But it is better to suppose, as it has been authoritatively stated, that the better nature of Kiyomori triumphed, and that, struck by the noble constancy of Tokiwa, he allowed her to depart, with a promise that the lives of her children should be spared. The youngest child, Ushiwaka, or, as he is better known, Yoshitsune, became not only one of the most celebrated men in Japanese history, but was the builder up of the fortunes of the fallen Minamoto, and the avenger of his father's death.



DATE MASUMUNE AND THE IDOL.

THE father of Masumune was a Shizoku, a retainer of the Lord Sendai. One day the boy Date went to the temple with an attendant and was struck with the particularly forbidding cast of countenance of one of the idols.

The attendant noticed the interest with which Date looked at the figures, and upon his inquiring who it represented, informed him that it was the God of Benevolence.

"The God of Benevolence!" said the boy; "then why has it such a grim countenance?"

"Although the God's face is grim," said the attendant, "yet his heart is kind, and is ever open to the needs of those in distress."

"Ah, so it should be with all great warriors," said the boy, his mind then, perhaps, filled with those dreams of ambition which he afterwards made a reality. "Their faces will necessarily become hardened and grim by the warfare in which they engage. But they should not become merciless and cruel; and their hearts should always incline to show mercy to those whom they conquer."

These opposite qualities of person and of mind were exemplified in the life of Masumune. Brave, and very skilful in all that should pertain to a warrior, he rose from the son of a dependant of the Lord of Sendai to be Lord of Sendai himself; and it is related that, the Shogun being old, Masumune was pressed by some of the daimyo to seize the Shogunate.

"No," said he, "I knew the Shogun when he was younger, and when he was such a warrior that no other dare think of deposing him. Now that he is too old to fight, I will not be his enemy, but will, with my whole might, aid him to keep the Shogunate."

The nobility of Masumune's character may be estimated when we remember that at this time he was master of nearly the whole of the North, and could easily have attained to the supreme temporal power. In one of

Masumune's many engagements he had lost an eye, and this, added to the fact that his face bore the scars of many wounds, gave him a fierce and grim look—so much so, that his adversaries were nearly as much awed by his *aspect* in battle as by his prowess. But that his heart was not hardened was evidenced by the many kind acts which he did ; and to this day the people of the country in which he was brought up, and among whom he resided, speak of him as “the father of Sendai.”

His memory is green after the lapse of three hundred years ; and the magnificent mausoleum in which his remains are deposited is religiously kept in repair, the inner apartment of the temple-like tomb forming the resting-place of the warrior. This beautifully carved structure is on a hill overlooking the city of Sendai, and is visited by many pilgrims and tourists, to whom an attendant points out the many good acts that gained for Masumune the love and respect of his people.

STORIES OF ARTISTS.

KOSE KANAOKA, a descendant of the Emperor Uda, was a famous painter of the reign of the Emperor Koko, many years ago. The Emperor having requested Kanaoko to paint his favourite horse, the artist was so happy in his subject that the animal is said to have stepped down from the picture to eat *hagi* (*lespedeza*, or bush clover).

A sheep painted by Ri-o-ken, who was a painter of the *To* period, about a thousand years ago, came out of its pen and commenced to eat grass. This was at noon, but suddenly, after nightfall, the animal disappeared, and was not seen in the picture till the next morning. Several people, therefore, went to Sannei, a priest, and asked him to explain such a wonderful occurrence. Said he, "Ri-o-ken has painted the animal with some chemical preparation [in the original it reads *kusuri*] which has been brought here from some southern country. It has the wonderful property of making whatever is painted with it invisible at night."

Yoshika, a Chinese artist, sketched a horse, and this, every evening, moved part of its body and its legs, and also neighed.

Chōsōyō, another Chinese artist, during the period of *To*, drew four dragons, neither of which had eyes. Being asked why he had omitted to paint in the eyes, he said that had he done so the dragons would have flown away. But many people, amused at his saying, told him he had too much confidence in his own power of creation; and he therefore took his brush and gave one of the monsters the power of vision. Almost immediately a violent storm passed over the place, accompanied by exceptionally heavy rolls of thunder. The clouds lowered, and during a startling peal of thunder the dragon ascended on a cloud towards heaven and was never more seen. The other three are said to be preserved in the district where Chōsōyō lived.

The following story is still more wonderful:—A famous artist, whose name is not preserved, had painted a beautiful lady on the *tsutate*, a

screen of a single leaf set in a raised frame. The figure was so lovely and natural that Kogan, a Chinese Government official of the rank of Shiushi, fell violently in love with it, and besought the lady, if she had the power, to step down from the picture and live with him as his wife. She graciously complied; but, after a son was born to them, she returned to her former place on the screen, where she can be seen with her son beside her. What was the end of the husband is not stated.

In the year of Temmei there was born in Kyoto an infant, who was named Okyo. From childhood he was very fond of drawing and painting. Chickens and dogs had special interest for him, and he may be termed the "Landseer" of Japan. After many years of patient work he awoke to fame, but yet was not himself satisfied with his ability to paint his animals and birds from nature. He went, therefore, to Gion-no-Yashiro daily, and observed the chickens that were there. For a whole year he did this, and people observing him week in and week out looking only at chickens thought he had become foolish. But, regardless of the coarse remarks that were often levelled at him, Okyo studied the birds until he had finished a drawing of them on the *tsuitate*.

Then he carried it to Gion-no-Yashiro to be seen by the people. As Okyo wished to know their criticisms on his work, he stationed one of his pupils near the picture, with instructions to report faithfully whatever was said. One and all admired it, and the praise of the great master was in every one's mouth. After two or three days, however, an old farmer came, and, after studying the painting attentively, said "it was beautifully drawn, but still was not true to the life." Okyo's pupil heard the remark and promptly inquired where the farmer was living, after which he informed his master of this opinion. Okyo immediately repaired to the farmer's house and asked why the painting was not true to nature? The answer was that, "although he (the farmer) had no knowledge of painting, still he had kept chickens for many years, and had noticed that their plumage changed with the seasons. The plumage of the cock," said he, "which you have in your picture is that of a bird in winter, but the grass in the picture has the smiling appearance that grass only has in summer. Therefore I knew that your picture was not true to nature." Okyo thanked the farmer for his valuable criticism, and subsequently it was his most earnest study of even the smallest details of his drawings that made any work from his brush of almost fabulous value.



KUMASAKA CHOHAN.

MANY years ago lived Kumasaka Chohan, a savage warrior and robber, whose ancestor was of the Minamoto family. Chohan was born in Kaga, the birthplace of his mother, and the place to which his father, Minamoto Suesada, had repaired shortly before the birth of Chohan.

Chohan early gave promise of great skill in fencing, and as he was lusty and strong and a fearless rider, his father took great pride in teaching him all that should make him a man to be feared by an enemy. After reaching manhood Chohan travelled through Japan as a warrior monk. Reaching Yetchizen, he took prisoner two bandits, Maruoka Kuro and Mikusa Shiro, under whose orders were one thousand thieves.

After Minamoto Yoshitomo and many of his family had been killed by the Taira, the Minamoto cause was at an extremely low ebb; but Yoshitomo's son, Yoritomo Ushiwaka, who was afterwards known as Yoshitsune, and Otowakamura, afterwards called Noriyori, and others remained.

Yoritomo Ushiwaka fled to Kurama Yama, Kyoto, and became a priest. But the warrior spirit within him was too strong for Ushiwaka to like such a vocation, and moreover, boy that he was, he cherished thoughts of one day restoring the glory of his family and raising it to higher power than ever it had enjoyed. So he took lessons in fencing from the *Tengu*, "a being which is supposed to inhabit mountains and unfrequented places, and is represented in pictures with a long nose, wings, and two claws on each foot and hand." Ushiwaka became so proficient under his elfin teacher that, as the Japanese historian puts it, "his movements were as free as a bird's and he could *hit* like a god."

At sixteen years of age he longed to avenge his father's death, but he could not collect sufficient warriors to match the strength of the powerful Taira. He knew, however, that a great noble in Mutsu, Fujiwara Hidehira, was well disposed to the Minamoto family, and he therefore deter-

mined to make his way to that province. While making preparations for departure, he received a visit from Kichiji, another friend of his family, and a buyer of gold and silver ornaments, &c. Kichiji's home was in Omi, so Ushiwaka determined to travel to that province with him as his assistant.

They reached Kagami, at the foot of Kagami Yama, without accident, and put up at one of the principal inns. Kumasaka Chohan, who in the meantime had developed into a robber of the most determined type, happened to be staying in the same town, and he soon heard of the probable booty that awaited him if he could relieve Kichiji of all he had with him. With this object in view he started off single-handed for the hotel in which Kichiji stayed with his clerk, and soon effected an entrance into the room where the treasure was. But "he reckoned without his host," for when once in the room he was attacked so fiercely by the trader's seeming clerk, and withal so skilfully, that he soon received a fatal wound.

The victor, standing over the dying robber, said, "Know that you have been engaged with Yoritomo Ushiwaka, ninth son of the dead Minamoto chieftain Yoshitomo! He who conquers me must have been taught by the gods."

A smile of ineffable joy passed over the face of the dying Chohan, and, lifting himself into a sitting position, he said, "Son of my chief, behold in me one who has been ever loyal to your family. My father was Minamoto Suesada, and rather would I have died than have lifted my hand in anger against you had I known who you were. That I have made myself feared as a robber is true, but my object has been to accumulate riches to aid our cause against the hated Taira. Put your head down and listen, and I will divulge to you the secret cave in a mountain in Kaga in which you will find all I have gained by my career of robbery."

Ushiwaka, greatly surprised at what he heard, expressed unfeigned sorrow at having wounded to the death so loyal an adherent of the Minamoto. But the robber seemed as if he heard not—the sands of life were fast ebbing away as he lay in a partial swoon caused by the great agony of his wound. Suddenly, however, lifting his eyes to Ushiwaka, he said, "I have received according to my deeds. I have shed the blood of many during my career of robbery, and now with my own life I pay the forfeit. But that it is by your hand I fall has made me die happier than if

the wound had been by an enemy. Convey my dutiful regard to your brother Yoritomo, who is an exile in Idsu, and say that Chohan, the robber whom all men feared, died expressing love and loyalty to the Minamoto."

Thus died the famous robber chief, Kumasaka Chohan, at the age of sixty-three; but his memory was held in regard by Ushiwaka and members of the Minamoto family for the motive that led him into a career of crime, when a life so much more honourable could have been enjoyed by one who was not only brave, but was one of the most accomplished warriors of his time.

ANECDOTES OF MASASHIGE.

AS is well known by those familiar with the history of Japan, the warrior Masashige showed a wonderful facility in inventing methods of deluding his enemies. This readiness of resource stood him in good stead when he had determined to attempt the capture of the Castle of Akasaka. It was defended by Yuwasa Teifutsu, a determined soldier, and an adherent of the Mikado's enemy, Ashikaga.

Masashige sent spies, disguised as merchants and farmers, to the neighbourhood of the castle, who soon reported that Yuwasa Teifutsu was suffering from want of provisions, and that a convoy was expected from Kii.

He also sent soldiers under one of his most trusted lieutenants along the road by which the convoy would pass, with orders that we shall see were faithfully carried out. Issuing from an ambush they soon made themselves masters of the expected grain, and of the persons of those who formed the convoy. They then emptied the rice from the packages, and in its place concealed their armour and weapons. Dressed in the clothes which they had made their prisoners discard, they conveyed the seeming rice to the front of the castle and demanded admittance.

Yuwasa Teifutsu was very glad that the convoy had arrived; and as an assault was then begun at the back of the castle by the orders of Masashige, he gave orders for its instant admittance.

Once inside the gate of the castle, however, the retainers of Masashige soon threw off their disguise; and, ripping open the rice-bags, soon obtained their armour and weapons, and materially helped their chief in his successful storming of the castle.

On another occasion, when he and his army were the besieged in Akasaga Castle, and not the besiegers, Masashige conceived a plan for giving Takatoki, the leader of the opposing force, a false idea of his strength. He ordered a great many straw effigies of fighting men to be

made, and clothed in coats of mail and armed with bows and arrows; and then had them placed in a dark wood near by.

The enemy, seeing so many soldiers in the wood, suspected an ambush, and therefore retreated as hastily as possible.

Some little time after, Takatoki assaulted the castle, and while many of his men were seeking to make their way up the walls, Masashige ordered his men to pour hot water and boiling dung upon them; thus killing and severely scalding many.

After two days another assault was made. But in the interval Masashige had had constructed a double fence to protect the castle. As Takatoki's soldiers sought to scale the outer fence, Masashige gave orders for it to be thrown down, thus destroying many of the enemy. But, although thus far successful in keeping Takatoki out of the castle, he began to suffer from want of provisions, and thought of a plan for his army to escape from the castle.

Among his soldiers was one named Nakitoki,* as he wept much on slight occasion. Masashige thought this man would be useful in deluding the enemy; so accordingly he caused some dead bodies to be burned. Seeing the large fire in which the bodies were burning, the enemy broke through the gate into the castle, and discovered Nakitoki bewailing the fate of his master and his brave companions.

"Oh, my master! My master has been burned!" cried Nakitoki, and wept bitterly. The enemy, thinking they had seen the last of Masashige, retired to their camp to make merry, while Masashige and his army retreated from the castle they had so bravely defended.

* From *Naki*, to weep.

YASUMASA AND THE ROBBER.

FUJIWARA YASUMASA, son of Munetada—a well-to-do person of Kyoto—was very fond of playing the flute.

One very clear night, as he was walking through the streets of the city, alone, and playing a favourite air as he strolled, Hakamadare Yasuke, a robber, noticed the beauty of his sword and the value of some of the articles of his attire, and determined to rob him if opportunity offered. So, following him through street after street, he waited the opportunity to carry out his evil intention.

Yasumasa, however, though he did not take the instrument from his lips, but seemed wholly intent on the tune he was playing, was yet watchful and alert, especially when passing through unfrequented places. The thief several times approached him; but, not liking his general air of determination, as often retired. At last his cupidity gained the mastery of his fears, and, rushing after the flute-player, he demanded all that was valuable about him, threatening his life if he did not comply quickly. But the musician, in no degree hurried or frightened by the robber's appearance or by his demand, finished the air he was playing, then put his flute slowly away. Turning to the thief, he demanded his name.

Probably the robber had reckoned upon his blustering demand being met with ready compliance on the part of one whom he thought would be frightened easily. But Yasumasa, quick to see that his calm demeanour had inspired fear in the fellow who had threatened him, rated him soundly upon the foolishness of entering upon a career of crime that would sooner or later bring him into serious trouble and perhaps cost him his life. He then ordered the crestfallen thief to follow him to his home, which he did most obediently, Yasumasa the while playing his flute as he walked homeward.

Arrived there, he gave the fellow a fine *hakama*—the over-skirt of the Shizoku—and said, “I pardon you your present offence, for it is of no benefit to me to kill you. But I advise you to follow some honest employment, which, if you are earnest in doing, you may reckon upon my interest and help.”

The grateful thief readily promised always to bear in mind Yasumasa’s advice and kindness, and departed with the determination to lead an honest life in future.

AN UNEQUAL CONTEST.

DURING the battle between Yoshitsune and Yoshinaka, the latter sent his soldiers to break the bridge across the Uji river, and to drive wooden stakes into the bottom of the river at the fording-place and connect them with iron chains—thus making the ford, if not impassable to cavalry, at least very dangerous. Yoshitsune gained information of this, but still he encamped on the bank of the river and made preparations for crossing.

As it had been raining very hard only one week before, the torrent of the river was swollen and the current very rapid. Yoshitsune selected two of his finest horses, and giving one, Iketsuke, to Kajiwara, a brave warrior on whom he knew he could rely, he ordered him to attempt the passage of the river. Kajiwara, however, would have preferred to try the passage on Surusumi, the other horse, but he did not dare question the decision of his commander. Surusumi was given to Sasaki, who received orders to compete with Kajiwara in crossing the ford.

Sasaki, who was wearing a very beautiful coat of mail, desiring to be first across, immediately set spurs to Surusumi, and overtook Kajiwara on the river's brink. That warrior, although pained that Sasaki should be given the better horse, determined to do his best to be first on the opposite bank, and therefore dashed into the torrent, closely followed by Sasaki.

"Look at your horse's belly-girth!" called out Sasaki; "it is quite loose, and, in this strong current, seriously inconveniences your animal. You had better attend to the girth, else the enemy may laugh at you for your negligence. Such a warrior as Kajiwara should only be seen on a horse that has had proper attendance."

Kajiwara, not thinking that Sasaki wished to deceive and delay him, took his bow in his mouth, and attempted to get at the fastenings of the



girth. This was Sasaki's opportunity, so, urging Surusumi, he soon was the leader in the perilous passage. Kajiware, in his anger at finding himself thus outwitted, made strenuous exertions to regain the lead, but Iketsuke was no match for Surusumi.

When the middle of the current was reached, the legs of the first horse became entangled by the chain which was sunk by Yoshinaka, but, drawing his sword, Sasaki with one vigorous blow cut the chain in two; and after battling with the current for some time he reached the opposite bank in safety. Rising in his stirrups, he cried out:—"Sasaki Takasuna, a native of Omi, has crossed the river first!"

Kajiware was indeed left behind. His horse in turn became entangled in one of the chains, and was with considerable difficulty extricated, reaching land, however, in safety eventually.

After Yoshitsune's army had crossed and had beaten Yoshinaka, Yoshitsune rewarded Sasaki for his exploit in being first across the river.

A JAPANESE GUNPOWDER PLOT.

ABOUT a hundred and fifty years ago, there lived in Tokyo two knaves, Marubashi Chuya and Yui-sho-setsu, the latter of whom was chief of a band of thieves. As one of the members or associates of this band was an officer of the Yeddo government who had charge of the ammunition for the troops, it struck the two knaves that, with the help of this man, a project for firing or blowing up part of the city could be successfully carried out, and in the terrible consternation and disorder certain to issue they could help themselves to a vast quantity of plunder. In pursuance of this diabolical plan they bought many *saké* barrels, filled them with gunpowder, and placing some in wine shops where they would not be likely to excite suspicion, buried others in the ground near the principal streets.

Meanwhile Marubashi Chuya, who was the leader of a band of *ronin*—all thieves, however—who were discontented with the Tokugawa Government, found it difficult to find the funds for keeping his braves together. He therefore went to a well-to-do merchant named Yashiro, and asked him for a loan of two thousand *ryo* (dollars); promising that if the enterprise in which he was engaged turned out successful, he would raise Yashiro to a higher position than he enjoyed, and possibly make him a Minister.

Yashiro pressed the other to tell him what the enterprise was the success of which was to give him such power; and Marubashi Chuya, seeing that the other appeared flattered and pleased by the idea of being raised to a better station, and perhaps believing that to gain position Yashiro was capable even of so fearful a crime, unfolded to him the precious scheme that he and his confederates were prepared to put into almost instant execution.

Yashiro was frightened—as well he might be—at so terrible a danger that menaced his native city, but dissembling his horror, he said: “Well, come to-morrow, and I will have the sum that you require ready for you.”

Marubashi Chuya, glad to have the promise of the money that would quiet his unruly and clamorous followers till he had plenty for them to help themselves to, immediately departed; while Yashiro lost no time in imparting the terrible secret to Matsudaira Nobutsuna, Governor of Tokyo, who immediately had all the conspirators arrested, and meted out to each the punishment so richly deserved.

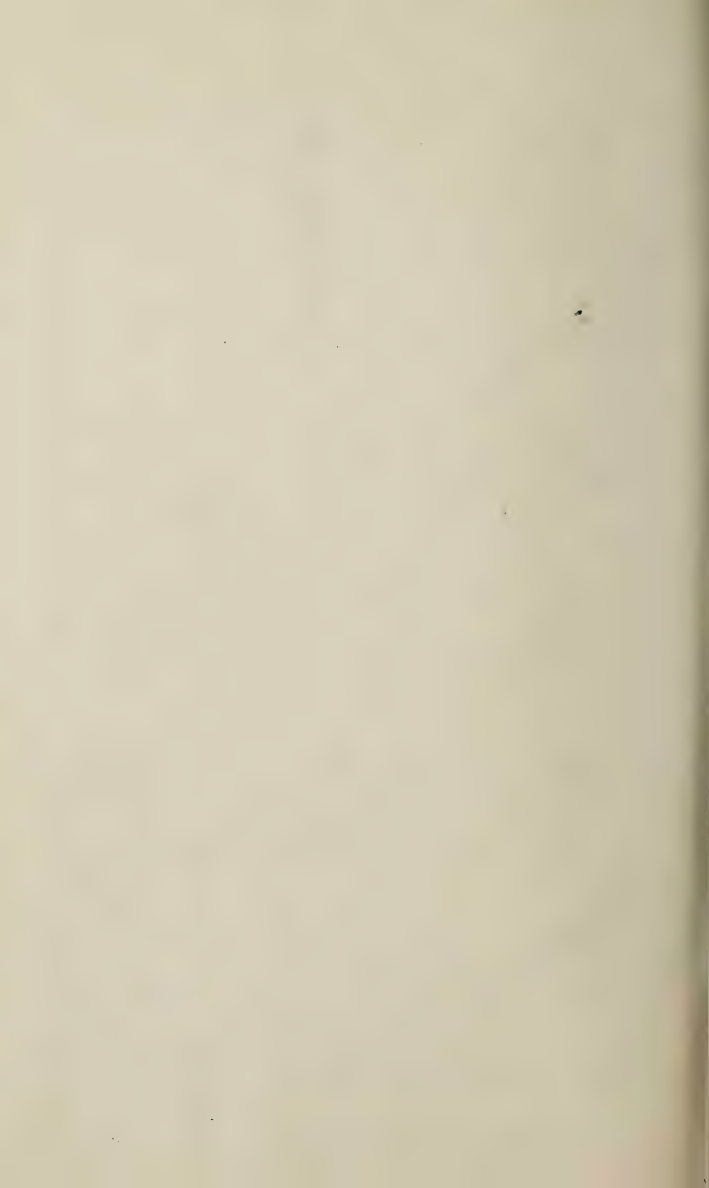
YOSHITSUNE CROSSING HIYODORIGOYE.

DURING the war between the Minamoto and Taira, Munemori, the chief of the Taira clan, built the castle of Fukuhara. Before it stretched the sea, while on all other sides arose the mountains, their tops, like waves, rising one above another, and stretching away as far as the eye could reach. Near this stronghold Munemori had one hundred thousand soldiers, and six thousand war junks. The gay streamers of the latter, with their crimson-decked sterns—the quarter-decks for the principal fighting men—and gaily draped canopies made an imposing show upon the water of the bay.

Minamoto Yoritomo ordered his brothers Noriyori and Yoshitsune to attack the Taira force; so on the 3rd February Noriyori moved towards Iruka, near the eastern gate of Fukuhara castle, with fifty thousand troops, while his brother took the ten thousand men that were with him to Ichinotani, the western gate. But he detached three thousand men of this force, and with them resolved to cross Mount Tekkai by Hiyodorigoye, in Settsu, and attack the castle from the rear. An attempt was made to dissuade him from so perilous and arduous an undertaking, but without avail.

When his small army reached the Mikusa-Toge it was near sunset, and Yoshitsune soon learned that the Taira were encamped at the western foot of the mountain. But the way proving exceedingly difficult and dangerous as night came on, the Minamoto leader wished for a guide. Noticing a light in a wayside hut, Yoshitsune entered and found within two hunters, father and son, whom he pressed to point out a way by which he could reach the enemy, and they readily complied. The younger of the two appeared a very strong and fearless man, so the Minamoto





leader appointed him as one of his men-at-arms, giving him a coat of mail and changing his name to Washino Tsunehara."

"Will it be difficult for my men to cross the mountain?" asked Yoshitsune of the elder hunter.

"The descent is very steep. I have never known horses to pass before," replied the man; "only deer have done so, hitherto."

"Horses have as many legs as deer," said the warrior, "and I am resolved that at least an attempt shall be made to get them to do it."

Arrived at the top of the pass, a grey light over the mountain tops had ushered in the dawn, and Yoshitsune saw with almost a feeling of dismay that the five thousand feet of almost sheer descent would prove perilous in the extreme. He sent two horsemen to see if they could descend in safety, but ere long a neigh of terror was heard, and one of the animals rolled over to almost instant death. But, oh joy! the other with its rider got safely down.

"March!" cried Yoshitsune; "it is in our power to take that castle below—march!" All knew the peril of the undertaking, yet not a man thought an instant of disobeying his chief. Sitting their horses firmly and guiding with knee and rein, one after another followed Yoshitsune and the guides. The utmost silence was observed, only broken occasionally by hurried orders, or by the cry of terror of a horse as it, and in some cases its rider, was hurried to destruction, waking an echo from the neighbouring hills.

But at length Yoshitsune and his fearless companions reached the goal of their hopes, and the castle of Fukuhara lay before them. Yoshitsune immediately gave orders for the assault, and as the bulk of Munemori's force was at the defence of the eastern and western gates, the defenders that he met with were comparatively few, it not being considered possible for an attack to be made from the quarter where his assault was delivered. The stronghold, therefore, soon fell into his hands.

KUMAGAWA RIOKAI.

THE subject of this sketch was an eminent teacher of Chinese philosophy in Kyoto about two hundred years ago. Being well-read in the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius—Kōshi and Mōshi, as they are called by Japanese—he was pressed by Itakura Shigemune, the then governor of Kyoto, to teach him and the officials under him the wisdom of those sages. Being very busy with the duties of this office, Kumagawa had little time for private study.

This caused him considerable anxiety and distress, as he was a man who loved to drink deeply of the writings and thoughts of the celebrated men in former ages. He therefore determined to resign his position, and devote himself wholly to study under a teacher superior to himself. But the difficulty was to find such a teacher.

One day, while he was staying at the *Semé* inn, a stranger entered, with whom Kumagawa soon became on terms of intimacy. In the course of conversation, among other things, the stranger said:—"At one time I went on a journey, on important business for my master, and had with me a considerable sum in gold and silver. I was well armed, and, as time was not a great object, I elected to walk through part of the delightful country where my route lay. When my journey was half accomplished, however, I thought it better to hire a horse in one of the villages through which I passed. And as the money in my pocket was heavy I took the bag and secured it to my saddle.

"About sunset I arrived at another village, and, thinking it unsafe to go on, determined to rest there for the night, especially as I noticed that the inn was clean and comfortable-looking, and the smiling hostess and her maids were very civil and deferential.

"After a hearty supper I went to bed, but had not been long under the *futon* when I was awakened from the heavy slumber which my long ride had induced by a loud knocking at the door and a voice demanding instant admittance. Startled for the time being—for I had heard of persons having been robbed and maltreated in some inns—I yet mustered sufficient nerve to look round for my sword to defend me and my money in case of need.

"The instant I thought of the money, a great fear came into my heart; and I instantly remembered, with a feeling of dismay, where I had left it.

"But the knocking continued; and in as firm a voice as I could control—for I literally shook with anxiety about my money, and great beads of perspiration were rolling down my forehead—I asked who the intruder on my slumber was.

"‘I am the ostler (*umakata*) of the inn. When I was removing your horse’s saddle, previous to washing him and littering him down, I found a bag of money, which I bring to you for safer keeping than I can give it.’

"An indescribable thrill of pleasure replaced my feeling of anxiety, and springing to the door I gave instant admittance to the man who had brought such good news. After thanking him earnestly I tendered him a more substantial proof of my gratitude and my appreciation of his honesty in the shape of some of the gold which he had restored.

"But he refused it, saying: ‘In my province, my teacher, Nakaye Tofu, taught me, “Be not dishonest, which at the most will bring only temporary profit; but at all times keep your rectitude, and your own self-respect will be ample reward.” I cannot, therefore, accept other reward for doing as I have been taught by my teacher, whom I honour and love.’ So saying, the man instantly left the room, leaving me astonished and pleased at such practical proof of the good result of Nakaye Tofu’s teaching.”

Kumagawa Riokai was greatly impressed by the relation of the incident, and he resolved to forthwith repair to the school of Nakaye Tofu and study for three years under such an admirable teacher.

KUMAWAKA MARU.

FUJIWARA SUKETOMO was a very brave man, and at the time that the proud Hojo Taketoki conspired against the Emperor Godaigo, Fujiwara allied himself with a party, each member of which was pledged to kill Taketoki.

Taketoki, however, got wind of the conspiracy, and ordered the arrest of all the conspirators and sent them under strong guard to the Island of Sado.

Fujiwara Suketomo's son at this time was thirteen years old and was called Kumawaka Maru. When he heard of his father's banishment he was exceeding sorrowful, and requested his mother to allow him to make his way to his father in Sado. But the mother's heart was sore at the loss of his father, and she feared for her son, who, she thought, would share the fate that she was certain would eventually overtake his father, and it was not till after repeated entreaties that she gave an unwilling consent.

When Kumawaka arrived in Sado he implored one of the Honjo guard, Honma, to allow him to see his father, and Honma, were it not that he feared the matter reaching the ears of Taketoki, would certainly have granted the boy's request, for he admired the filial love that had brought Kumawaka to Sado. But, possibly acting under superior orders, Honma caused Fujiwara to be put to death by Samuro.

When Kumawaka heard of his father's death he determined to be avenged upon those who had killed him. So, pretending to fall sick, he stayed in Honma's house, waiting and watching for an opportunity of carrying out his purpose. He had not to wait long, for one night, when a violent storm was blowing and the heavens were dark as pitch, he observed a light in Honma's bed-room. Making his way stealthily

thither he saw that the only occupant was Samuro, and that his arch-enemy was absent.

"That fellow was implicated in my father's death," thought he, "perhaps was the assassin who carried out Honma's order. I will kill him and thus carry out part of my oath of revenge." So he prepared to enter the room, but as the lamp shed a bright light on all around he hesitated. Then a curious thing happened. A cloud of butterflies surrounded the door, and, as soon as it was pushed open a little, one entered, and flying to the light, in some manner extinguished it.

Kumawaka Maru immediately rushed in, and tripping against the pillow, awoke Samuro, who, however, met his death at Kumawaka's hands as he tried to rise and defend himself. One of his enemies being thus slain, Kumawaka was undecided what to do next. He knew that should he be taken red-handed he would suffer a worse fate than the man he had put to death. He thought of suicide, but his mother's face rose up before him, and an unconquerable longing to see her again made him seek some means of escape.

His hopes in this direction seemed doomed to disappointment, for all the gates were securely fastened and well guarded. A moat ran round the enclosure of the *yashiki*, and although not very wide it was of considerable depth. But at one spot Kumawaka observed a tall bamboo growing from the bank. His resolve was soon taken, and springing into the tree, he by his weight caused it to bend so that he could reach safely the opposite bank. He then made the best of his way to Kyoto, to his mother's arms.

INCIDENTS IN THE BOYHOOD OF TOYOTOMI HIDEYOSHI.

TOYOTOMI HIDEYOSHI was the son of a peasant who lived in Owari. Shortly before his birth his mother dreamed that a sun was shining in her breast, and thus, when her boy was born, he was named Hideyoshi Maru, which means "Little Sun."

He grew to be a sharp, clever lad, with features somewhat resembling an ape's. When he was eight years of age, his father died, and his mother married a man named Chikuami. Chikuami sent Hideyoshi Maru to the temple in the village to be educated for the priesthood, but the boy did not like that. Whenever the priest, his instructor, spoke about heroes and brave men who had made their names famous, the boy's admiration was fired, and often and often, in imagination, he beheld himself doing brave deeds: and resolved, on the first opportunity offering, to desert the priesthood for the camp. "A monk is only a kind of beggar," said he: "I do not like to be such a shameful thing. A man ought to *do* and *be* something in the world."

But he was afraid that, if he escaped from the charge of the priests, his step-father would be angry, so he adopted a line of conduct which he hoped would lead to his expulsion from the monastery. His wilful disobedience of orders became so flagrant, and his conduct generally was so bad, that at length he was sent home to Chikuami as incorrigible.

Little more is recorded of him till he reached the age of twenty. Then he went to Totomi, to Matsushita Yukitsuna, and asked to become one of his followers. This daimyo, hearing that the applicant was clever and sharp, and had already on several occasions shown much courage, appointed him one of his men-at-arms, changing his name to Yosuke.

One day his lord asked Yosuke: "Do you know what coat of mail Nobunaga wears?"

"Most daimyo wear *Okedo*, but Nobunaga uses *Damaru*, which allows of freer movements of the limbs and body than that of *Okedo*," was the ready reply of Yosuke.

"Then, Yosuke, here are one hundred ryo; you will at once purchase a *Damaru* suit of mail for me."

"Ah," thought Yosuke, "here is an opportunity I have long waited for. It is wrong to steal another's money, but I will borrow this gold for a time, and then repay it with good interest after I have turned the scale of fortune and have bettered myself." So with the money he provided himself with a sword and coat of mail and went to Nobunaga and offered his services as his follower.

That celebrated warrior, looking at him, said: "Your face is like an ape's. Your spirit must resemble that animal's also; and, as I therefore infer you are courageous, I will give you employment first to act as my groom and personal attendant."

Among the bravest of Nobunaga's warriors, there were none that excelled in courage and daring the former ape-faced groom, and no name in Japanese history ranks higher for deeds requiring courage than that of Toyotomi Hideyoshi.

KATO KIYOMASA.

READERS of Japanese history have learned how Konishi and the subject of this sketch were sent by Toyotomi Hideyoshi to attempt the conquest of Korea. Kato Kiyomasa, as depicted by artists of his time, appears as a man of goodly proportions and strong, while writers of the period all agree in praising his character. He usually wore beautiful armour, his helmet being of silver, and in addition to the usual swords of the noble he carried the peculiarly shaped long spear (*katakama yari*). From the main part of the head of the spear two arms branched off originally, but in one of his battles one arm got broken off, and this was never replaced. Kiyomasa, however, was faithful to his old weapon, broken though it was.

While directing the campaign in Korea he detached one of his subordinates and sent him to Ulsan, to build a castle there; while he himself stayed at Kuchan. When the castle was but partly finished, it was suddenly beleaguered by a Chinese fleet, the commander of which, being under the impression that Kiyomasa was within the walls, was very anxious for its capture.

Kiyomasa soon received information respecting the strait in which his lieutenant and his slender force were placed, and was soon on his way to their relief with a few ships and five hundred men. Small as this force was, it proved sufficient to scatter the enemy. During the engagement scarcely a Chinese ship dared attack the one in which Kiyomasa stood, so dreaded was he by them.

Thus did he raise the siege of the castle; but was not to remain there long unmolested. The enemy had observed the small force that accompanied him, and they soon plucked up their courage. "We have him now," said their commander, "like a tiger in a trap." On the morrow, all the available force of the enemy landed and stormed the

stronghold, under cover of the guns of the fleet. The besieged fought gallantly, nerved to extraordinary acts of bravery by their renowned chief. They received the storming party with showers of arrows, stones, and huge logs of wood, and soon the ground beneath the walls was strewn with dying and wounded men.

But, not to be balked of their prey, the Chinese persevered for ten days—ten long and anxious days to those in the castle. Food and water ran short, and to such a pass was Kiyomasa and his heroes reduced that it is said they drank the blood of their horses. Added to this the cold was intense, for it was now the depth of winter and the unfinished castle offered but little shelter from the inclement weather—from the cold wind and snow.

Fortunately for Kiyomasa and his brave companions, messengers had succeeded in making his condition known to Konishi; and, with Mori, Kuroda, and other chiefs, he was soon on his way to render assistance. Konishi came by sea and the others by mountain roads. Arriving about the same time, they at once attacked the enemy and succeeded in forcing him to raise the siege and sail away.

When Hideyoshi heard of the gallant conduct of Kiyomasa and his companions, he was exceedingly pleased, and at the close of the Korean campaign bestowed rewards on the survivors.

This story is of the greatest interest to the youth of Japan; and not to them only, for grey-haired men will often, when in a narrative mood, recite the gallant deeds of the defenders of Urasan.

A COMBAT IN THE OLDEN TIME.

IT is said that of old when two champions met in what might possibly prove deadly combat, they addressed each other in chosen terms, telling their lineage, and also reciting the brave deeds of their ancestors and the deeds which they themselves had done. During such a recital one opponent never sought to take advantage of the other, for to have done so would have been considered cowardly in the extreme, and would have disgraced the swordsman in the eyes of all knightly *Samurai* for ever. There are many stories of such combats, and it will be my endeavour, while relating this one, to show the reader that the *Samurai* of old were often actuated by the feeling of true chivalry.

Atomi Kamon, a *Samurai* who lived about three hundred years ago, possessed this chivalric spirit in no small degree, and his many valiant deeds had gained for him a proud position as one of the principal captains of the Lord of Echizen. One day his chief requested him to tell of some of the brave acts he had performed, that certain young *Samurai*, his hearers, might strive to emulate so great a warrior. But Atomi Kamon, like many another distinguished soldier, was as modest as he was brave. "Deeds, not words," has always been the rule of such, and the spirit of this motto was that which actuated the doings of Atomi Kamon.

Therefore, instead of speaking of his own prowess, he said: "*I* have done nothing worthy of mention, but I once met with a very chivalrous soldier, and shall be very pleased to tell you of him."

"I was riding along the shore of Lake Yogo,*" he said, "and the

* Lake Yogo is situated in the northern part of Shiga Ken, at the foot of Shizugadake, a mountain near which a celebrated battle was fought, where seven famous spearmen who took part in it by their bravery turned the tide of victory in favour of Hideyoshi. The Yogo River forms the channel of communication between Lake Yogo and Lake Biwa.

shadows of evening were already falling. In fact, so dark did it become that if an enemy had been lurking near I should have failed to detect him. Presently I heard some one calling after me, and, slackening speed, I was soon overtaken by a young soldier, mounted, as far as I could distinguish, on a superb steed.

“‘My friend,’ said he, ‘I have been seeking some one worthy of engaging in combat with me, and although you seem a person of distinction I hope you will not refuse me the satisfaction of an engagement with you.’

“I was nothing loth, and soon had my spear in rest. Then said he, ‘Friend, my spear has tasted the blood of some one of lesser degree than yourself; I pray you wait till I have cleansed it in the water of the Lake.’ So saying, he plunged the spear into the water; and when he had cleansed the blade to his satisfaction we fought till the increasing darkness prevented us seeing each other. At last he said:—

“‘Friend, we two being true Samurai must make fair combat. The darkness makes that impossible. I therefore propose that we stop, and should it be our fortune to meet again we will then fight to a finish. My name is Aoki Shigekatsu. I beg you will favour me with yours.’

“I told him at once, and we parted with mutual expressions of respect and good-will.

“As I have said, he was very young and well mounted, but never before nor since has it been my fortune to be engaged with one so vigorous.”

Scarcely was the story finished, and the applause of his auditory silent, than a man, to all appearance in needy circumstances, came forward from the direction of the kitchen. He said, “I have heard your recital from the distance at which I stood, and if it interests you to know, I am the man with whom you fought that dark night.”

Kamon looked at him a moment; then, recognizing him, made him a profound bow, and expressed his pleasure at meeting him again. “But I fear me you have met with great reverses since we last met,” he said. “The duty and pleasure shall be mine to help you in such a manner that you can appear as one befitting your skill as a knight.”

“Nay! nay! that duty shall be mine,” said the noble Lord of Echizen. From this day I appoint the unknown *ronin* as one of my captains, with the same rank as the noble and chivalrous Kamon who has sung his praises so well.”

A BRAVE GIRL.

IN the second year of Kayei (A.D. 1853-4) Otomi-san, a little maid of eight summers, lived at Matsuya Cho, Osaka, with her mother and little sisters, and one brother about fifteen years old. Her father was dead, and so her mother eked out a livelihood by keeping a sort of stationer's shop, at which also money in small amounts could be exchanged.

One night after the family had retired to rest the mother was startled by hearing the shutters of the sleeping room forced open, and, observing with terror that two armed men having the appearance of thieves were cautiously making their way in, she caught up her youngest born, a child of three, and calling to the others, escaped from the house by a back door. But her son, Misaburo, was not so fortunate; for before he could escape he was seized by the burglars, one of whom struck him over the back with the flat of his sword, and threatened his life if he did not divulge the place where his mother kept her money for exchange purposes. The lad's terrified assertion that he was not the widow's son, but only a servant, did not in any way deceive the robbers.

His little eight-year-old sister, Otomi-san, stood near, too brave to escape when she saw her brother's life in danger. When the robbers demanded money she quickly remembered that she had received a New Year's present from her uncle, which she had kept because the pretty silver coins were too bright to spend. She kept them in a little purse, and occasionally, when entertaining some of her playmates, would exhibit her riches as children in a Western land exhibit their tiny cups and saucers or their Paris dolls, for children are much the same the world over. Now, however, she ran quickly to where she kept her little treasure, and bringing in the purse—its silver contents looking oh! so much nicer than ever before—thus accosted the robbers:—

"You are asking my dear brother for money, and say you will kill him if he does not give you some. He never saves his money, but I have saved this, my generous uncle's last New Year present. It is only a small sum, and perhaps even then you may kill my brother if you cannot get more. But I pray you, if this is not sufficient for you, kill me, and let my dear brother go."

The robbers looked at the child in amazement, and both were inexpressibly touched by her bravery and her artless pleading for her brother. One of them even stooped and patted her face, and then both left without touching a coin.

The brave and loving conduct of the child was so spread abroad that it even reached to the Emperor's ears, who directed that a suitable present be sent to her. And the story coming to the ears of a rich merchant in Osaka, Mr. Sumiga Hikobei, he sought and obtained leave of her mother to adopt her as his own child.

HOW MASAHIDE PERFORMED HIS TRUST.

ODA NOBUNAGA was the son of Nobuhide, hereditary governor of Owari. During Nobuhide's governorship Owari was very prosperous, as he governed that place in a wise and conscientious manner. At his death he called one of his most faithful retainers, Hirate Masahide, to him, and thus said:—

“Masahide, I have always found you faithful in carrying out whatever you have been bidden to do, but now I am going to impose a great and most solemn trust upon you. My young son gives me great anxiety; and I leave him in your charge, believing that you will faithfully train him in a manner befitting a scion of my noble house—admonishing him if he deserve reproof, commending him when praise is fairly due. You know, also, that Saito Dosan, Lord of Mino, has promised him his daughter in marriage when he shall have arrived at an age to claim her. Dosan and I have long been intimate friends and companions in arms, and this is an additional reason that you be watchful, and guard right well the character of him to whom I leave my estates and a knightly record that has never been sullied.”

Masahide, stern warrior as he was, shed tears as he took leave of his dying lord, and promised that, even at the cost of his life, he would never fail in doing what Nobuhide had commanded.

Faithfully did he try to observe his dead chief's injunctions; but his charge was wilful, and as intractable as Clive, the conqueror of India, is said to have been during *his* boyhood. We read that he would sometimes array himself as a priest, at other times in the fluttering rags of a beggar, donning for variety even the gay-coloured *kimono* of a singer. Time after time did the faithful Masahide remonstrate with his young chief, only to be good-humouredly assured that he meant no harm by his mad pranks.

At last, after Nobunaga had done something more than usually outrageous against his guardian's sense of propriety, Masahide resolved upon the sacrifice of his own life as a possible means of awaking in the youth a higher ambition than that of offending by his foolish conduct the susceptibilities of the clansmen who had served his father so well.

Before carrying out his purpose, however, he wrote a letter to Nobunaga telling him that as hitherto his admonitions had been of so little avail, perhaps he would listen now to advice that came from one whom death would soon claim. Then, handing the letter to his son with instructions to carry it to Nobunaga, he performed *seppuku* in the presence of the friends whom he had called around him as witnesses.

No pen can describe the grief of the young chief when he learned of the melancholy fate of Masahide, for, with all his heedlessness and love of idle pranks, his nature was noble, and he had really loved the old man whom his father had held in such honour and esteem.

"Would that *I* had died rather than Masahide!" he cried. "When I am a man I will erect a monument in honour of one who has sealed with his blood the compact he made with my father."

For a time Nobunaga was influenced by the old warrior's death; but his natural inclination for devilment soon re-asserted itself, and we read that at the age of fifteen he was as careless and frolicsome a youth as could be found within a radius of many miles of Owari.

Saito Dosan, his intended father-in-law, was exceedingly anxious on this account, for, as he loved his daughter dearly, he did not like the idea of her mating with one who behaved with so much levity. He was of a proud race, and thought that the son of a noble should have none of the instincts of the mountebank. He therefore invited Nobunaga to visit him, and it is stated that while travelling to Mino he put on the peculiarly gay robe of a prostitute—an account of this latest escapade being duly carried to Dosan. But Nobunaga had the good sense to carefully attire himself in rich dress before reaching the *yashiki* of Mino's Lord, and this, coupled with the fact of his appearance being frank and manly, may have influenced the noble in disregarding his youthful eccentricities and in renewing his sanction for Nobunaga's marriage with his daughter.

We have seen that, for a time at least, Masahide's sacrifice of himself seemed unproductive of good in influencing Nobunaga in leading a life

befitting his noble birth and station. But it may not be unreasonable to suppose that it bore fruit in the end ; for Nobunaga became one of the most celebrated men of his time—in fact, his name stands as a landmark in Japanese history. And who shall say how much he owed to the noble man who so unflinchingly did what he believed to be his duty! “*Greater love hath no man than this, that he lay down his life for his friend.*”

MORI MOTONARI'S WISDOM.

WHEN Mori Motonari was eight years old he went to the temple of Itsukushima, with his retinue, to offer prayers. After returning he asked his people what they prayed for.

"That you will succeed your father as daimyo of Aki," they answered in chorus.

"Why did you not pray that I should be ruler of the world?" said the boy. "No one can hope to do mighty things unless his ambition is very great. If I aspire to rule a country I may at least succeed in becoming ruler of a province. But if I aspire only to the rule of a province I may become but the petty warden of a village."

Mori Motonari did eventually achieve great things. A brave yet kind-hearted warrior, he was victorious in many battles, and became ruler, not only of Aki, but of several other provinces in the western part of Japan.

It was he who, when on his death-bed, called his three sons to him, and taking a bundle of arrows, selected one and asked his son to break it. This he did easily. The father then gave three arrows, tied together, to another of his sons and asked him to break them. Although he exerted his whole strength he could not do so. The old man in this way showed them the advantage of being united in all they undertook.

A JAPANESE AMAZON.

YORITOMO and Yoshinaka, though both members of the powerful Minamoto family, were bitter rivals. Yoritomo was Shogun at Kamakura, and aspired to the sole military government of the Empire. Yoshinaka, who was born at Shinano, first went to Echigo and from thence to Kyoto, where he was made Seitai Shogun (one appointed to punish turbulent daimyo), and was head of all daimyo there.

Yoritomo requested Yoshinaka to obey his orders; but he refused, on the ground that power had been vested in himself by direct command of the Emperor, the Tenno. Yoritomo therefore sent his own brothers Yoshitsune and Noriyori to enforce obedience on Yoshinaka, who had with him an army under four brave soldiers, Iguchi no Jiro, Imai Kanehira, and two others. Yoshinaka was a brave man; but was unfortunate, as our story will show.

Tomoe, whose relations with Yoshinaka were of a tender nature, was a skillful horsewoman, and was unlike the women of her time inasmuch as she was skilled in the use of weapons. She accompanied Yoshinaka during his campaigns, and on many occasions was conspicuous by her bravery. Finally, Yoshinaka was attacked by Yoshitsune, at Kyoto, and the fortune of the day going against him, he, when his followers were dispersed or slain, started off at full gallop for Omi, the province in which Lake Biwa is situated. But Hatakeyama Shigetada, one of the principal warriors of Yoritomo and a celebrated judge, observed him make off, and immediately set out in pursuit.

As Hatakeyama gained on Yoshinaka, Tomoe, who had also followed him, determined to give the pursuer a check. So she reined in her steed and waited his approach. As he came up she rode full at him, but being no match for Hatakeyama with the sword, was quickly overpowered, and Hatakeyama, not wishing, perhaps, to injure a woman, seized her by the

sleeve to unhorse her. But whipping the animal, she started forward, and was able to escape, while the warrior retained part of her sleeve as a souvenir. In the meantime, Yoshinaka had completely out-distanced his pursuer, and Hatakeyama seeing this, gave up the chase.

Tomoe rode on leisurely to the rendezvous agreed upon with Yoshinaka, and when near the plain of Awadzu, between Otsu and Seta, saw, marching from the latter place, the Minamoto troops under Noriyori, brother of Yoshitsune. They probably did not know that Yoshinaka was already defeated, and were marching to the aid of Yoshitsune. One of the principal captains, Uchita Iyeyoshi, was riding some distance in advance of the main body, and Tomoe, espying him, determined to seek revenge for the defeat of Yoshinaka on one of the hated foes of her protector. The fight was short, for the woman, fierce with hatred and passion, made so furious an onslaught that she overcame her opponent, and was soon carrying the bleeding head of Iyeyoshi as a trophy to Yoshinaka.

It would be difficult to picture his surprise when the bloody trophy was laid at his feet. "Iyeyoshi was one of the strongest men in Yoritomo's army," he said, "and I can hardly realize that he was outmatched and slain by a woman! I have first to thank you for your devotion in risking your life to afford me a chance of escape from Hatakeyama, and now you make the obligation greater by the additional risk you ran and the bravery you displayed merely to afford me the gratification of knowing that my enemies are one less in number." Then the unfortunate fugitive, embracing Tomoe, told her that his cause being hopelessly lost, the time was come for her to secure her own safety by separating from him.

Tomoe, with tears in her eyes, assured him that nothing should cause a separation, and begged hard to be allowed to seek death with him on the battle-field. "What is life to me," she cried, "if Yoshinaka is out of my sight? You have seen how little I fear death by my conduct to-day and on many occasions. I beseech you, let me stay with you, and it will be happiness indeed if I can die with you!"

Yoshinaka, however, tenderly but kindly commanded her to go, and she, weeping bitterly, bade him a sorrowful last farewell.

Yoshinaka was soon after joined by Kanehira, the brother of Tomoe, and a few hundred men-at-arms whom he had collected after the defeat at Kyoto. They set up their standard on the Awadzu plain, and an

engagement soon ensued between them and the Minamoto troops under Noriyori. This was disastrous also to Yoshinaka, and soon, accompanied by Kanehira only, he found himself again a fugitive. But the Minamoto were in hot pursuit, and the two were soon discovered making for the hills. Kanehira, pointing to a hill somewhat nearer than the rest, and well wooded, bade his chief make for that and he would engage his foes till he had gained it. Yoshinaka galloped hard for the hill, but his horse stumbled and nearly threw him. Looking back to see how his faithful follower fared, an arrow that was discharged after him pierced his brain, and he died on the spot.

Kanehira, seeing his lord receive his death wound, immediately drew his short sword, and, plunging it into his throat, died with him whom he had so gallantly tried to save. When Tomoe heard of the sad fate of the two she loved, she resolved to retire to Shinano and become a Buddhist nun, and so spend the rest of her life entirely secluded from the world. Yoritomo, however, gave orders for her attendance at his court at Kamakura, out of consideration for her bravery, and she eventually became the wife of a distinguished soldier named Shigeta.

Yoshinaka and Kanehira were buried with great honour near Baba, Otsu; and many who visit their last resting-place recall, with feelings of pride, how one of their countrymen was faithful, even unto death, to his lord and master.

THE FATE OF ISHIKAWA GOYEMON.

THE mother of the subject of this sketch was in service in a gentleman's family in Kyoto, and finding herself about to give birth to a child she desired to get back to her native place. While travelling towards her home, accompanied by one of her fellow-servants who had good-naturedly offered to be her escort, she was taken ill on the road. Her companion at once conveyed her to a roadside shrine, while he went to a village near by to obtain medicine for her in her sickness.

As she lay near the shrine a stranger approached, and seeing a woman apparently lifeless he put his hand over her heart to see if she were really so. At the same time he noticed that she had quite a large sum of money in a purse in her bosom, and being sorely tempted to possess it, yielded to the impulse, and hurriedly transferred the money to his own person. As he did so the woman suddenly started up and cried "thief!" in as loud a voice as she could command. This frightened the fellow, and, drawing his sword, he wounded her slightly, and then made off with his ill-gotten gains. He had scarcely done so when the woman's travelling companion came back with the medicine, and seeing at a glance what had taken place in his absence, he made after the thief, who was still in sight. But coming up with the robber, he was so fiercely assaulted in his attempt to capture him that he fell mortally wounded.

Soon another traveller came to the spot where the woman lay, and observed that a child had been born from the wound made in her body by the robber, and that the mother was dead. Taking part of the raiment of the unfortunate woman, and wrapping the child in it, he carried the new-born babe to his house, and as it was a male child named him *Shute-waka*. This name was in after years changed to *Ishikawa Goyemon*.

The boy grew into a sturdy youth, and was then sent by his foster-father to a temple to be trained for the priesthood. Being more clever than the

other boys at the temple, they became jealous of him, and one day, catching him near a river and tying a large stone round his neck with a straw rope, they threw him into the water to drown. But their wicked purpose was frustrated, for, gnawing through the strands of the rope with his teeth, he succeeded in safely reaching the opposite bank of the river. Having swallowed much water, he lay down near a large flat stone, and pulling it over on to his stomach he thus *forced out the water* he had swallowed. At least the story says so.

Resolving not to return to the temple, he made off by devious ways to a distant part of the country, and seeing no other means of support became a robber, and in time a robber chief.

At this time he privately married Oritsu, a woman of Gion, Kyoto, by whom he had one son, Goroichi. Oritsu seems to have been an honest woman, for when she found out how her husband obtained his livelihood she admonished him and wished him to give up his bad practices and live honestly. Finding her influence of no avail, she left him, went home to her father's house, and managed to obtain a divorce, but she was forced to give up her child to her late husband.

After some time Goyemon took another wife, also from Gion, and this woman abused and ill-treated the child. One day, during her husband's absence, some of the robber band came to the house, and seeing her beat and scold her step-son, ordered her to desist. They also told her to tell Goyemon that a good opportunity offered for a successful robbery, and that he was to repair to a place where they would meet him. They had not been gone long when one of their number, Kobuna-no-Gengoro, returned and made dishonourable proposals to her, threatening if she did not accede to his demands to betray her husband to the *Dai Kan Shu*, by whom he would be punished. Otaki—this was the woman's name—pretended to listen favourably to him, and asked him to return that night, secretly hoping her husband would have reached home first.

But he failed to do so, and the fellow made his appearance as arranged. The boy Goroichi, a precocious youth for his age, seeing a stranger with his mother at night and thinking all was not right, possessed himself of a sword of his father's and crept near the pair while they were conversing. He then aimed a blow at Gengoro, which, missing that worthy, took effect upon his step-mother, and she sank lifeless at the boy's feet.

In the meantime Goyemon had made his way to Gion, Kyoto, a

palace in which were many art treasures. Goyemon effected an entrance into the palace, and taking a small *chidori-no-koro* (small incense-burner shaped like a bird), he wrapped it in silk to deaden the sound which it always makes at night. But careful as he was, he awakened an officer, who immediately attempted his capture. The sound of their combat awoke others, and soon Goyemon was a prisoner.

After being tried, he was sentenced to be boiled in oil; and for the carrying out of this barbarous sentence a large iron cauldron was prepared and put in position near Shijo Kawara—the dry bed of the river at Shijo (or fourth bridge). The place of execution was railed round with high bamboos, so that neither an escape nor a rescue could be attempted.

The day for the execution came, and in the sight of a very large concourse of people the robber chief was led to the boiling cauldron, and with him his boy, Goroichi, who had also been condemned to a like painful death for killing his mother. Goyemon, holding his son in his arms, stepped firmly into the boiling oil, and although his sufferings were terrible, yet so long as he had strength he held his son above the boiling liquid. And as he did so, he spake in a loud clear voice words that are familiar to every Japanese:—"Ishikawaya, hama no, masago wa, tsuki-ru to mo, yo ni, tozoku no tane wa tsuki ma zi!" A free translation of which is:—"The pebbles on the sea-shore wear out by the constant wash of the waves; yet will the world never be free from robbers."

After speaking the above, he became exhausted and could no longer hold his boy above the burning mass. Thus perished Ishikawa Goyemon and his son Goroichi; and he is remembered because of the defiant speech that he made when dying in such great agony.

THE JUDGE'S RUSE.

NAOSUKE, servant of a physician named Nakajima Kisseki, was a dishonest fellow. After making himself acquainted with the place in which his master kept his money and valuables, he determined to possess himself of them.

He had become possessed of a short sword in some manner; so, arming himself with this, one night when the deep breathing of the family assured him that he could carry out his intention without perhaps being obliged to have recourse to murder by reason of his design becoming known, he proceeded to force open the drawer in which the money was kept. He inadvertently made noise enough to awaken one of the sleepers, a girl of tender years, who immediately gave the alarm. Fearing detection and punishment, the robber then killed every soul in the room—his master and mistress, and their little daughter who had aroused them.

This was not done before the neighbours had been roused, and several of them rushed to the room where the tragedy had been enacted, and tried to secure the murderer. He escaped, however: but not before a neighbour had seen through his disguise and recognized him as the servant of the murdered physician. This was soon made known to the authorities, and Naosuke was sought for, but without success.

Four years after, a man calling himself Kambei was seen by a person who had known him as Naosuke, the doctor's servant, and he promptly had him arrested.

But Kambei denied his identity, and although hard pressed upon his trial before the celebrated Judge Ooka, he would not admit his offence, but stoutly maintained that he had never been in the service of Nakajima Kisseki. As the evidence was circumstantial to a great degree, Judge

Ooka seemed unwilling to convict him, and, apparently very reluctantly, ordered his release from custody. The fellow seemed mighty glad to regain his liberty, and was making off, when the judge suddenly and in an imperious voice called, "Naosuke!"

"Yes?" answered the murderer, and then saw that he had inadvertently given proof of his former identity. He was then sentenced, and the following day expiated his crimes by being crucified.

THE SHOGUN TAUGHT BY A PRIEST.

TOKUGAWA IYEMITSU, the third Shogun, was out hawking one day near Yanaka. A Buddhist temple was not far distant, and as the day was warm and the Shogun had become separated from his suite, he made his way to the temple to rest, and to pray in that privacy that one so exalted as he seldom enjoyed.

He had scarcely finished his devotions when he espied an aged priest busy grafting trees in the temple grounds. The old fellow seemed upwards of eighty years of age, and one whose span of life was nearly ended.

"Whatever does he want to graft trees for?" thought the Shogun. "He surely will not live to see them grow up. It seems useless labour on his part." So thinking, he made his way to the amateur gardener, to whom he said:—

"Priest, what are you doing? You surely do not expect to live till those trees grow large enough to bear fruit or flowers!"

The priest, hearing himself addressed in a somewhat imperious voice, looked up at the stranger dressed in the ordinary hunting suit of a gentleman; and without showing any special deference, replied:—

"I am grafting trees, as you see. Whether I shall live to see them bear is more than you or I can say."

The Shogun, nowise offended by the manner of the other, said kindly:—"But think; a man at your time of life can hardly expect to live till those trees bear, and so it seems useless labour on your part to do what you are doing."

The priest again looked upward, and his features were lit up with a holy light. "I am not doing this for my own gratification," he said: "others will come after me, and in their time the temple grounds will be

beautified as the result of my labour. This may teach *you* a lesson :—not to live for self alone, but to do something that may benefit posterity.”

The Shogun was much moved at the old man's words, and said :—

“Priest, you have taught me a lesson worth remembering!”

At this instant the members of the Shogun's suite made their appearance on the scene, and when the old man saw their deferential conduct before him whom he could see was their master, and observed also their crests (*mon*), he knew that he to whom he had spoken so freely was the temporal ruler of the Empire. This gave him a feeling of uneasiness, which the Shogun perceiving, he immediately said :—

“I am too pleased, friend, with the lesson I have learned to be angry at your freedom. I shall desire your acceptance of certain presents which my servants will convey to you to-morrow, and which will be from one who bears you in grateful remembrance for the valuable lesson you have imparted.”

THE FOX AND THE CRAB.

IN Banshiu there is a small hill called the "Hill of the Crab." The following story will illustrate the reason for its receiving that name.

On a cold winter day a poor little Crab came to the foot of the hill and there met a Fox. The latter, in his proud way, said: "Well, of all the slow things in this world you are about the slowest."

"But for all that I am willing to try a race with you to the top of the hill," answered the Crab.

The Fox laughed at the other's proposition and thought it a good joke: but the Crab persisting in his challenge, he good-naturedly agreed to the race—"just to take the conceit out of his slow-going friend."

"Are you ready?" presently said he. "No; wait a bit," said the Crab; and while the other complied, sitting on his haunches the while, the Crab crept round and fastened himself to his tail.

"Now, off!" he cried, and the Fox, hearing the "start" given, bounded off at a good pace without so much as looking back for his friend the Crab.

About half way up the hill, the Fox stopped and looked round for the other, but not seeing him in sight, muttered, "If I were to go up on three legs I should go faster than you!"

"Don't be too sure," thought the Crab, from his comfortable place on the Fox's tail, as he overheard his muttered remarks.

On went the Fox till he reached a point just below the crest of the hill. Then he stopped, turned round, and took a seat to await the Crab's coming.

But after waiting some time and seeing no indication of the other's approach, he called loudly:—

"Where are you, old slow-coach?"

“Here!” replied the Crab, from the very top of the hill; and as the astonished Fox turned to him the other said:—“What a comfortable ride I had clinging to your tail! I have never travelled so fast in my life before. But I claim the race, for I am at the top of the hill before you.”

That hill is called “Kanigasaka,” or Hill of the Crab, and it is situated near the public road, “Chiyugoku,” which runs through the village of Akashi.

IWAMI JUTARO'S REVENGE.

A TEACHER of fencing in Chikuzen, Iwami Zuzaemon, had two sons and a daughter. The second son, Iwami Jutaro, not satisfied with the instruction his father could give him, pleaded illness and asked to be allowed to go to the house of his uncle, Suzuki Gozaemon, for he thought while there he would see different styles of fencing and could receive lessons in the art from the different masters he would meet.

For the purpose of practice against an imaginary foe he often repaired to a retired spot on the mountain side, and one day while there an old man suddenly appeared before him and showed him some exceedingly difficult passes in the art of which he was so passionately fond. Soon after, he set out on a tour through various provinces, visiting the fencing schools and also engaging any whom he met on the road who seemed inclined to try conclusions with him.

Now it happened about this time that Kohiya Gawa Takakagi, daimyo of Chikuzen, required a fencing master for his son, so he sent for the father of Jutaro and for a person named Hirose also, and questioned them keenly about fencing. The first of these answered readily and to the lord's satisfaction; but the answers of Hirose showed him wanting as a fencing master. Iwami Zuzaemon was therefore appointed to teach the young lord, and this so enraged Hirose that with the assistance of two of his friends he waylaid Zuzaemon and killed him. He and his friends then made for a distant province, to escape punishment for their cowardly act.

But the elder son of the murdered man, Juzo, and his sister, Otsuji, determined to find them if possible; which they eventually did in Itagura Shiku, near Tokyo. Juzo was suffering from an affection of the eyesight. He could see very well by day, but at night was almost blind. The Japanese call this disease *torime*—literally, "birds' eyes."

As Juzo, therefore, attacked the fellows at night, he fell an easy victim to them, and his sister, seeing him fall, ran away, and afterwards became a *geisha* or singing woman.

One day, in Jutaro's wanderings from place to place, he met his sister, and was soon informed of the fate that had overtaken his father and brother. He swore to be avenged on those who had slain them, and made his sister promise to accompany him in his search for the three murderers. The life of the pair was from this time full of adventure and not without much hardship. In Sendai they were imprisoned, and the poor girl sickened and died. This only made her brother the more bent upon the punishment of the men who had destroyed his family. So he managed to break out of prison and came south to Omi and Tajima.

Arrived at the latter place, he learned that the three men he sought had taken service under Nakamura Shikibu, the governor of the castle, and to him Jutaro went and pleaded to be allowed to meet in deadly combat the murderers of his father and brother. "I am skilful at fencing," said he, "so I will give good account of any odds they may bring against me."

Nakamura could not refuse so reasonable a request, so he fixed the place of combat at Mukoshima, a small island near.

Whether the three fellows had made many friends who did not wish to see them fall before the skill of Jutaro, or whether Nakamura himself wished to keep them in his service and get rid for ever of Jutaro and his claim for revenge, is not stated. But on the day fixed for the fight Jutaro found himself opposed to the three whom he had sought, aided by *one thousand* of the castle garrison. So, at least, the fact is stated in history.

But he was in no wise disheartened. He attacked the superior numbers with such bravery and address that soon one hundred of them, including the three murderers, were left dead on the field, and the others sought safety in flight. This speaks much for his prowess if little for that of the men of Tajima.

His fame soon went abroad; and as, soon after, he made his way to Osaka (while doing which he was attacked in a hotel at night, but killed the fellow who attacked him), he became known to Hideyoshi, by whom he was appointed one of the superior officers of Osaka Castle.

It is recorded that, some time after, he met his death at the hands of the Tokugawa when they attacked that stronghold.

THE WISDOM OF JUDGE OOKA.

A MERCHANT'S assistant of Tokyo, one Yagoro, went forth from his master's place of business to sell sundry pieces of cotton cloth, in various parts of the city. Coming to the end of a street at Hongo, and feeling somewhat tired, he took his pack off his back and rested near Jizo, a Buddhist idol carved out of stone.

Soon he dropped off to sleep, and a thief who had been watching for an opportunity eased him of his cloths.

When he awoke and discovered his loss he was in great distress, which some passer-by seeing, he advised him to go to the celebrated Judge Ooka Yechizen-no-kami and tell him about the matter.

Upon his doing so, Ooka sent officers of the Court to fetch the stone idol near which the unfortunate Yagoro had slept. "We will arraign it for theft," said the judge—he having hit upon a plan for finding out where the stolen goods had been carried.

The news soon got abroad that the Jizo was to be tried for theft; and although numbers laughed and wondered what strange motive the "Japanese Solomon" had in such a trial, yet about five hundred people soon gathered near the gate of the enclosure where the Court was situated, and, in their eagerness to be present at such a time, pressed, without permission, through the gate.

This was exactly what Judge Ooka had foreseen would happen. He then gave orders for the names and addresses of all who had entered to be taken, and sent them, under pain of severe punishment if they disobeyed, to their homes to fetch each a piece of cotton cloth for his inspection.

As none dared disobey, the Judge soon had piles of cloth in front of him. He then called in Yagoro and bade him see if the missing pieces were among the number. Strange to say they all were, and those into whose possession they had come were able to point out the thief, who was soon captured and punished.

mitsuyae:

A STORY OF THE SAIGO WAR.

PREFACE.

THE following story has been written to give Japanese students of English belonging to a later generation than those who are old enough to remember the events related, an intelligent idea of the course of the Satsuma War; and it is hoped that teachers of English in Japanese schools will find this little sketch of service in giving students some idea of a serious crisis in the latter-day history of the country.

For the historical portions of the story I am mainly indebted to the columns of the *Japan Mail* and the *Hyogo News*.

G. J. PENNEY.

Osaka, August, 1890.

MITSUYAE :

A STORY OF THE SAIGO WAR.

THE sun was sinking to rest, and its dying beams made the horizon appear a living sheet of fire. Weary and footsore, a man in pilgrim's garb made his way to the gate of a *yashiki* in Sendai and besought food and rest.

"I have travelled far," said he; "so far that my weary limbs are like to give way beneath me. I pray you, give rest and food to one who has it not in his power to give aught in recompense save his heartfelt thanks."

Though apparently forced to beg thus for shelter and food, the appearance of the stranger was that of a *samurai* of good position, and he seemed not yet thirty years of age; his bronzed countenance proclaimed him a native of some Southern province.

"The times are troublous," said the gate-keeper. "All men of my lord's condition are subjected to a strict watch by emissaries of the Government. He is not expected from Tokyo till the morrow, and in his absence I cannot admit one who, methinks, is not the simple pilgrim his dress proclaims him."

"Have no fear," said the stranger. "These relics show that I have visited the Isé shrines on my way hither. I fain would see Matsushima* before my return to Satsuma—and thus my journey here."

At the mention of the pilgrim's birth-place the gate-keeper shot a suspicious glance at him; but knowing that his lord would not turn away one of such condition from his gate, he gave him reluctant admittance.

* "Matsushima," the name collectively given to the numerous islets in the "Bay of Islands" near Sendai, is one of the *San-kei*, or "Three Beautiful Views" of Japan.

"I must request you not to talk with the serving men more than is absolutely necessary," the gate-keeper said. "Your bath will be quickly ready, and your food also; after taking which you can retire and take the rest you say you need."

The lady of the *yashiki* had seen the pilgrim enter. Calling to the gate-keeper she bade him tell her whence the man had come; and soon learned what the gate-keeper already knew of the mysterious stranger, as well as his suspicion that the pilgrim was of high rank, and had a deeper motive for his journeying than a sight of Matsushima.

"Oh, nonsense!" said she. "Men of condition, tired of the continual adulation of their dependants, sometimes are glad to lay aside their rank for a time and travel as simple pilgrims to places of interest. Bid my brother, in whose charge we are left during my lord's absence, come to me. I will ask him to invite this stranger to spend some time with us after he has effaced the traces of his travel and has partaken of refreshment."

So, later, in the chief guest-room to which the pilgrim had been bidden, were assembled the members of the family, with some of the principal officers of the lord. Warmed by charcoal in tall polished braziers, and well lighted, the apartment seemed very cheerful to one who had for some time been a stranger to anything so comfortable, and the pilgrim acknowledged the greetings of those assembled with a courtly grace which convinced those who received him that he was of their own class.

"Now, Sir Pilgrim," said the lady, "we would have you tell us something of your travel, and of the historic shrines of Isé. We promise to listen attentively to anything you may say."

"With pleasure, fair lady! But before doing so I must beg to be made better acquainted with those I see before me. I shall esteem it an honour to be told the names and condition of these your honourable friends."

The stranger included all present with a wave of his hand; but he looked particularly at the blushing face of a maiden of some eighteen or nineteen summers, who, noticing his earnest gaze of admiration, hung her head with pretty shyness.

The lady of the *yashiki* was quick to see where his interest centred, and not ill-pleased to find her favourite admired. "This young lady's father fell at the fight at Hakodate," she said. "Since that time she has been our adopted daughter, for her brave father was my lord's old companion in arms."

"May I ask the name of one who was so fortunate as to share your lord's friendship and regard?"

"My father was Sano Tokutarro," said the maiden, speaking for the first time, "and he was one of the principal officers of the lord of Sendai."

"So you are a daughter of that brave man! My father knew him well, for I have many times heard him speak of his brave deeds."

A pleased smile overspread the face of the maiden, and during the subsequent relation of his travels by the stranger her interest was apparently intense. At intervals, as something of more than ordinary importance was told, her head was lifted and her eyes met his, for although addressing so many, it seemed by his earnest gaze that *she* had the chief interest for him. He spoke well, and expressed his thoughts clearly in excellent language; and it is scarcely necessary to say that upon retiring to rest the girl's dreams were of the mysterious stranger who had cast such a spell upon her.

The day following was clear and bright, and after the morning meal the pilgrim took his departure. He would fain have lingered, especially as she who filled his thoughts seemed distressed at his departure. But the rules of good breeding demanded that he should resume his journey, and so, after craving permission to pay his respects to the lord upon his return—a permission that he readily obtained from his kind and courteous hostess—he went on his way to Matsushima.

At noon the master of the house returned, accompanied by his nephew, a young man of twenty. His adopted daughter and his nephew had been companions and playmates from infancy, and there had grown up in the young man's heart a tender love for her whom he had watched becoming more graceful and comely with each succeeding year. He had often called her his little wife, for the two had been betrothed by their parents in infancy. She had early exerted an influence over the strong, wilful boy, and had teased and laughed at him when he failed of success in the fencing bouts with sons of the lord's *Samurai*. She had made him her servant simply by "sending him to Coventry" when he displeased her. He loved her, and she knew it; but as yet no answering chord of love had swept, passion strung, into her breast for her "great rough brother," as she called him.

"What news brings my lord from Tokyo?" said the lady, as she waited with her maids the entrance of the nobleman into the principal room.

"It is such that I cannot tell it before so many chatterers. Send away your maids, and I will tell you of that which is causing grave anxiety to our Imperial master."

It was not long before she learned the gravity of the crisis which confronted Ministers in Tokyo. The mischief began, her lord told her, three years ago, when Korea insulted Japan by refusing to receive her ambassadors in a fitting manner, and in refusing also certain presents and requests of the Mikado. At the time Saigo Takamori and certain of the Satsuma party wished to avenge the insult to their Imperial master, but that course was opposed by the Prime Minister, Okubo, and by Iwakura, another powerful Minister. More than one stormy scene occurred between the three, the arguments of Okubo and Iwakura being that Japan was not then prepared to enter into a foreign war without greater and more weighty provocation.

"The improvements that have been inaugurated since the accession of his Imperial Majesty the Tenno to supreme power," said they, "have not been without influence upon the national exchequer. We are building railways, and have purchased war vessels and ships to keep the commerce of our coasts in our own hands. Our schools also are costly; but we hope such outlay to be well repaid eventually. These and many other things, as well as our fast-developing commerce and manufactures, will receive a serious check if we resort to war with Korea."

Such reasoning was, however, not to the taste of Saigo, who retired to his province, Satsuma, in high dudgeon; and to understand our story, it may be well, while the lord explains these weighty matters to his lady, to give a sketch of the life of this powerful chieftain, taken from the columns of the *Japan Mail*, where it appeared about the time of the breaking out of the Satsuma rebellion:—

"Saigo Takamori, better known by the more common name of Kichinosuke, is about 50 years of age, and comes of a good family of the *Samurai* of Satsuma. He is a man endowed with far more than ordinary abilities, his personal appearance also bearing evidence to the superiority of his intellect. His younger days were spent mostly in and around Hyogo and in Yedo, where he completed his studies, and where he first made the acquaintance of Katsuawa, the ex-Minister of the Navy.

"During the years of Kaiyei (1848-58), while in Kyoto, he formed a friendship with a priest of the temple called Hô-shô-In, at Kiyomidzu, by

the name of Gessho, who, like Saigo, was an ardent upholder of the *Kinno* (literally, duty towards the Emperor) cause, and who was a favourite of Konoye, a *kuge* of high rank. In the autumn of 1858, Saigo was induced, against his judgment, to make a journey to Mito, as the bearer of a message from Konoye, delivered to him, through Gessho, to the *Daimyo* of that province, who was confined in his *yashiki* by the Bakufu (government of the Shôgun). The Imperial Court had expressed a desire that the *Daimyo* of Mito should be appointed one of the advisers of the Bakufu, as he was known to be a staunch upholder of the *Kinno* cause, and the message that Saigo carried was an official notice of the desired appointment. But he failed to carry out his mission as he had expected, and came to Yedo. After remaining there a short time he returned to Kyoto, where he resided with Gessho, Umiyeda, and Yechiji, all adherents of the Emperor's cause, and with whom he consulted as to the best steps to be taken for the overthrow of the Shogunate. In the meantime the Bakufu had commenced a rigorous persecution of all partisans of the *Kinno* cause. Saigo and his friends were especially the objects of its hatred, but for some time no severe measures were taken against them, probably through a wholesome fear of the Satsuma party. At length, however, Gessho was threatened, and, his life being in great danger, by the advice of Konoye he escaped in a *kago* to Osaka, closely pursued by the officers of the Bakufu. Saigo and Umiyeda together managed to protect his flight, and to get him safely into hiding at Osaka. Saigo then went back to Kyoto, but after a short stay, finding that Gessho's life was still threatened, he hastily returned to Osaka and induced Gessho to attempt flight into Satsuma.

“Accordingly, accompanied by Umiyeda, they procured a junk and set sail for the south. They were chased by their enemies, and, narrowly eluding pursuit, arrived at Shimonoseki. Leaving Gessho behind, Saigo proceeded to Satsuma to procure a hiding place. Gessho, however, was compelled to fly, and came to Fukuoka in Chikuzen, and after many narrow escapes, by the assistance of a certain *Samurai* named Hirano, managed to make his way to Satsuma, where he took refuge in a temple. In the meantime Saigo was urging the Satsuma authorities to afford protection to Gessho, but owing probably to fear of the Bakufu, assistance was refused. Meanwhile the Bakufu authorities were endeavouring to procure spies at Fukuoka, who would undertake to go to Kagoshima and capture Gessho.

"On the 15th October, in the dead of the night, Saigo came to the temple where Gessho had taken refuge, and found him and Hirano sleeping. He silently roused them, and Gessho at once comprehended, from the anxiety visible in his friend's countenance, the imminence of his danger, and the necessity for immediate flight. Taking with them the priest's servant Insume, they entered a junk and set sail to the east. The boat was amply provided with food and *saké*, and a feast was prepared and partaken of. Suddenly, without a word, Saigo rose, and embracing Gessho, plunged with him into the sea, and disappeared. After a few moments they reappeared on the surface, and were at once seized by the bewildered occupants of the junk and dragged on board. Both were found to be insensible. Saigo, a robust, powerful man, after a time revived, but all efforts to restore life to Gessho were in vain. Saigo's motive for this action has been accounted for in various ways, but the most probable solution is that, despairing of saving his friend, he resolved to perish with him.

"Saigo now changed his name to Kikuchi Genjo, but the Satsuma authorities, dreading the vengeance of the Bakufu for permitting the escape of its intended victim, banished him to Oshima, where he again changed his name, taking that of Oshima-Sanyemon, in consequence of his having three times visited this place of banishment. In spite of the bodily hardships that he had to endure during the years of exile spent on this island, he continued to cultivate his mind, and never wavered in his firm resolve to overthrow the Shogunate, and restore the Mikado to legitimate power.

"In 1863, when the struggle between the Imperial Court and the Bakufu grew more open and bitter, Shimadzu, Lord of Satsuma, pardoned Saigo, and, recalling him, placed him at the head of the administration of affairs in his province. In 1865, when the Bakufu and Choshu clan were in open warfare, Saigo arranged an alliance, offensive and defensive, between this clan and his own. In 1868 he attended the great meeting at Kyoto, and profoundly impressed the assembly by the truth and shrewdness of his counsels. In 1868, also, he was appointed adviser to the Commander-in-Chief of the Imperial forces. When the Mikado's troops advanced as far as Shinagawa, in the final struggle with the Shogun, Katsu-awa, in an interview with Saigo, begged him to cease hostilities, as Keiki, the irresolute and effeminate head of the Bakufu,

was willing to surrender. This was at midnight, and Saigo straightway asked to be furnished with a proof of submission. Katsu-awa said that on the following day the castle at Yedo should be surrendered. Saigo at once replied, 'If to-morrow, why not to-night? There is no need to wait.' The terms were made and the castle was given up.

"After this Saigo accompanied Arisugawa, [afterwards] Commander of the Imperial forces, to Echigo in an expedition against a number of rebels, who had not yet thrown down their arms. After subduing these, Saigo was ordered to reduce to submission the retainers of the Shogun's cause, who had made their way to Yezo, which he undertook to do in thirty days, and he accomplished the task, giving proof of excellent judgment and great valour. For this the Government at once wished to appoint him to the office of *Sangi*, but he declined the distinction and returned home.

"On the 2nd July, the Mikado acknowledged his services in the following terms:—'You have been the strongest upholder of my cause, and you have for years been zealously endeavouring to secure my restoration. Owing to your skill as military commander, in obtaining possession of Yedo Castle, in gaining the victories of Echigo, and by your diligence in all affairs connected with my service, you have gained for me the peace I to-day enjoy. I honour your actions, and as reward therefore, decree to you an income of 2,000 koku of rice per year.'

"This Saigo likewise declined to accept, but on the Mikado's ordering him to receive it he complied.

"In 1871 Saigo was recalled by the Emperor, and elevated to the office of *Sangi* with the rank of *Jusammi*. In May, 1873, he was appointed General of the Imperial Army, still retaining the office of *Sangi*. In October of the same year arose the Korean question, which led to a disagreement between Saigo and some of the other members of the Cabinet, unfortunately resulting in Saigo's withdrawal and return to Satsuma. Since that time the Government has made frequent overtures to him, and the Emperor has more than once ordered the return of the man most influential in effecting his restoration, and whose firm devotion to the throne he re-established still, we thoroughly believe, remains unchanged. But from dislike to some of those who surround the sovereign, and who, he has reason to suppose, seek to advance their personal power instead of labouring for the dignity and welfare of the

Empire at large, he has remained in retirement, devoting his time to the direction of a system of 'Private Schools,' or, as we know, Military Academies, established by him, and supported to some extent by the pension decreed to him by the Mikado as a reward for his faithful service."

CHAPTER II.

It will be remembered that we left the nobleman in earnest converse with his wife upon the events that were troubling many minds both in and out of the Cabinet.

"Satsuma," he told her, "was in a position to offer very formidable resistance to the Government if its leading men were united and an appeal were made to arms. It is asserted by her *Shizoku* that their pensions, which, in common with those of *Shizoku* of all other Ken in the Empire, had been ordered to be stopped by the Government, were bought by their forefathers with hard cash, some as far back as 300 years ago. Whereas the pensions of other *Shizoku* in the Empire were simply in payment of military services which they were no longer required to perform, and which it should be no hardship to give up. Satsuma has 60,000 men drilled and armed—under Kirino, Shinowara, and Futsube, three *Shosho* who are again under the direction of Saigo Takamori, the Commander-in-Chief."

"But will the Satsuma men, think you, actually resort to war against the central government?" asked the lady.

"I greatly fear me they will! News has been received from Oyamada, Governor of Kagoshima, that the *Shizoku* of the city are in a state nearly approaching open rebellion. Rumours are abroad that Tanaka Naoya, and his brother, Suhiro Naokata, with their relative, Kashiwada Morifume, and others, have been sent to Satsuma by some members of the Government to assassinate Saigo secretly. That this is true is of course absurd, for the first of those I have mentioned is a member of the Kagoshima Local Assembly and is an honourable and upright man. I know that he and his companions have gone back to their province to try and influence

their countrymen against war. But in their present minds the *Shizoku* are ready to believe anything against the Government, and so they have taken Tanaka Naoya and the others and are putting them to great indignities. In fact, their lives, if not actually taken, are in grave danger."

"Satsuma, Chosiu, and Tosa," he further told her, "may be likened to the principal branches of a tree, which, originally sprouting from near the base of a strong gate-post, grew up gnarled and malformed from the opposition offered to their growth. But the tree as it grew ultimately pushed down the post, which had become rotten and worthless."

"Am I to understand that my lord is referring to the Bakufu, whose power was broken principally by the aid of the three provinces he has named?"

"Yes; such is my reference. The living and active intelligence of later years in our country became too strong to tolerate any longer the oppression of that rotten old painted post, the Shogunate, and pushed it down, though itself was left partly gnarled and malformed by the evil influence under which it had grown up, and some of the branches were found to interfere with the others, now that their common oppressor is out of the way."

"And does my lord think that Satsuma, the principal of the branches and the one that separated very near the ground, thirsts for some of the power formerly enjoyed by the Shoguns?"

"It has been a question with those who have attempted to study politics whether its interests were ever identical with, but were not rather opposed to, the joint interests of the others. In other words, it has long been the opinion of many shrewd observers that Satsuma fought ten years ago not so much for a United Japan of which she would be a province no greater than many another, but to create a new government of which a nominee of Satsuma should be a virtual Shogun, or something very like it, under the Emperor."

"But, my lord, Satsuma does not seem to enjoy more power than other large provinces at the present."

"True; but that is because the Coalition Government, as we may call it, which rose into power after the 'Restoration,' has turned out to be jointly more national than could have been expected from the way it came into power. The Tosa faction is somewhat disaffected, and they are a powerful province and have strong claims. Yet they have not as yet proceeded to defiance of the authority of the central government."

"Nor will they, I hope. There is, I know, a deep underlying current of loyalty to our Imperial master in the people of Tosa."

"And also in those of Satsuma. And the province has furnished some of the bravest officers and men to both the new national army and navy. But yet Satsuma has never practically given up its system of virtual self-government, a system which the Cabinet, not too firmly seated, tolerated for political reasons. It remains, however, to be seen whether the claims of province weigh more with the brave men who are now serving in our army and navy than that spirit of loyalty to their sovereign of which I have spoken."

"Satsuma's dissatisfaction with the policy pursued by the Cabinet has continued to increase," continued the nobleman, "and I have already told you how Saigo has withdrawn himself from all participation in Government affairs, though continuing to hold his nominal honours and dignities. His passive disaffection was grave, for he contributed in a high degree to the establishment of the present Government. Yet no one supposed it would go beyond the active stage. Gradually, however, it has become known that the authority of the Tokyo Government has been openly disregarded and sneered at, under cover of the state of independence which the Government has only tolerated till they felt themselves strong enough to cope with it—they having the army and navy, and the telegraph and the large fleet of the Mitsu Bishi Company at their backs. They have seen that time has been fighting on their side, not only in allowing them to bring into operation the large resources at their command, but by allowing time under the existing state of affairs to build up a fabric of interests which a successful rebellion would be more likely than not to shatter.

"Saigo has drilled an army—for what purpose he knows best; but I fear me he miscalculates the nominal resources of the Government in men, material, transport, and money."

"But does my lord think it will come to this—that brother will war against brother; for such it must be if arms are resorted to?"

"It is declared to be one of the designs of Saigo to make the administration of the entire Island of Kiushiu independent of the general government, though not in antagonism to it; it is, in fact, identical with the autonomous policy which has obtained in the Kagoshima Ken anterior and subsequently to the Revolution of 1868. This would, as you know, be simply an imitation of the old plan of dividing the Empire into *daimiates*.

Up to this time all the former daimyo have surrendered their possessions in fact, but the Satsuma clan nominally only. Before this can be accomplished a bloody war will have taken place. I trust, however, that this is a mere newspaper report."

"My lord appears greatly troubled. If the storm you say has risen should increase, you, at least, may not be drawn within the circle of its activity."

"Your simile is good, fond wife. But, consider! The circular storm that visits our coast travels a long distance, and who shall say to where its centre may shift? My duty is to the Government, whose servant I am; and, come what will, I must support it even with my life's blood. But, alas! some of my best and dearest friends are pledged to the party that it is feared will, by heedless chiefs, be hurried into rebellion."

"Then I sorrow for our country, dear lord. If a river overflow its banks, who shall bound its waters? If rebellion be resorted to, who can put a limit upon the wretchedness and misery that will follow in its wake?"

"I fear me truly, if but a tithe of the misery that will be caused by civil war could be foreseen, those who are now so eager to resort to it would suffer rather than it should be. But enough, the subject I love not to dwell upon. Tell me, fond wife, how you have fared during my absence."

"Till last evening, nought of interest happened. But then, a stranger—a pilgrim from Ise, on his way to Matsushima—sought rest and refreshment here. As he was unmistakably of gentle blood, and was withal of pleasing manners, my brother invited him to describe to us the things of interest he had seen since leaving his home in Satsuma."

"Satsuma! Pray describe the man who travels from that distant part in these times, merely for a sight of our beautiful Bay of Islands!"

This was said hastily and with great sternness, and, after listening attentively to enough of his wife's description and eulogies of the stranger to satisfy himself as to his identity, he muttered: "Ha, it is as I suspected when his birthplace was mentioned! He is Okuyama, the friend and, till now, inseparable companion of Kirino, one of the most hot-headed of the Saigo party."

He then abruptly left the apartment.

CHAPTER III.

On the second evening after the events narrated in the previous chapter, a feast to which the lord had invited his principal retainers was in progress in the noblest-proportioned room of the *yashiki*.

At the upper end of the apartment sat the lord, while near him, on either hand, sat the principal gentry, the highest in rank on the lord's left. Ranged down the sides of the room were the others, their places remote from their chief as their rank decreased. The small cushions on which they sat were placed on the spotlessly clean mats (*tatami*), and in front of each guest was a small red-lacquered table with legs less than six inches in height.

On this was placed the small black lacquered soup-dish, with its elegantly ornamented cover to protect the soup from dust. Also the small dishes in which the numerous courses were served. In one was broiled fish, in another boiled fish, and in yet another long pieces, a quarter of an inch square in section, of raw *tai*, a kind of fish much esteemed by Japanese, and eaten usually when the *saké* or wine begins to mount to the head. Various dishes of vegetables and condiments there were also, with boiled rice and sponge-cake, oranges and sweetmeats.

On each table was a small, beautifully ornamented wine-cup, and this was kept filled by the pretty waitresses that were under the eye and direction of the lady of the *yashiki*. She and her adopted daughter presided at the large low table which graced the centre of the dining-room, and on which were the numerous eatables that she dispensed to the guests.

At a Japanese feast it is *en règle* for the guests to present themselves, one by one, on their knees before the host, and then to request the honour of drinking from his cup. The recipient, after having partaken of the wine, then most carefully cleanses the cup, which is handed back respectfully on the extended fingers of the flattened hand. The hand is held palm upwards. A waitress then fills the cup, and the wine is sipped (the cup is rarely emptied, for that would mean quick intoxication to even the most hardened toper at a large gathering) by the host in honour of the guest. Temperate persons during this drinking of healths scarcely even sip the wine, but merely pretend to do so, and then empty the contents into the water-bowl when in the act of washing the cup.

The host was in the act of receiving the cup from one of his principal guests when word was brought to him that the pilgrim from Satsuma had returned to the *yashiki*.

"After his ablutions, bid him repair hither," said the lord. And then, turning to the guest on his left, said: "I know him well. His father and I fought side by side at Osaka. In fact, poor fellow, he received the stroke that was aimed at me, and paid for his devotion to the Tenno [Emperor] with his life. I would fain, therefore, show to his son all the hospitality that I can. But I must be guarded, for I have certain knowledge that his journey hither has a deeper object than he will care to confide to you or to me, unless very certain that the seed he is sowing will fall upon prepared ground."

Presently Okayama came in, and bowing with courtly grace to the lady and her daughter (whose eye he sought to catch, if only for a moment), he walked forward to where the lord sat, and after kneeling and bowing lowly, said:

"I pray you, my lord, to pardon my intrusion upon your festivity. I was received under your honourable roof with kindness and great consideration during your absence. Such kindness was the more grateful to me as I had hitherto experienced only the comfort which wayside hotels furnish. Your honourable lady's invitation for me to again partake of your hospitality upon my way homewards was too generous to be refused even had I not a wish to see one who was by my father's side when he received his death wound."

"I pray you sit here at my left.* You have heard, it seems, how your brave father received the stroke that was dealt at me. A braver man than I perished then; but 'twas the fortune of war."

"You honour my father's memory indeed when you say 'braver.' Your honourable deeds are spoken of by too many in our land for any one to be accounted braver."

The lord was well pleased by the ready and courtly answer of his guest, and all the attention he could spare he gave to the son of his old companion in arms.

Meanwhile, not far from these two sat Hirai, the affianced husband of Mitsuyae. As her gaze rested often on the young stranger, and as more

* The left hand is the post of honour in Japan.

than once a tell-tale blush overspread her lovely face as she drooped her eyes before his earnest and impassioned glance, Hirai felt a pang at his heart that caused a dark frown to settle on his usually good-natured features.

"I fear me this stranger's visit bodes ill to our parents' wishes," muttered he. "I am never more to her than a brother, while she——"

A train of sorrowful thoughts caused him to be indifferent to the allurements of the feast, nor did he notice the retirement of Mitsuyae and her mother as a bevy of dancing girls and singers were ushered in to amuse those who were now made more than merry by the wine.

CHAPTER IV.

On the morrow after the feast, Okuyama sought his host to tell him that pressing business demanded his return to Satsuma.

"Sit down," said the nobleman. "I have that to say which I hope the son of my old friend will not take amiss."

Okuyama divined something of what was coming, but yet he listened with great respect while his host went on :—

"It has come to my ears that war is imminent in Satsuma. In fact I received a telegram this morning that certain *Shizoku* of that province, led by Kirino, your friend and superior, have attacked an arsenal in Sakuraisima* and have obtained there powder and stores belonging to the Government."

The features of Okuyama were lighted with a fierce joy, and the lord, noticing the expression which the other could not repress, said :—

"I suspect your errand here is to secure the co-operation of *Shizoku* in this Ken against the Government. Now, your father and I helped to establish that Government. He died doing so, and I will now defend it to the utmost of my power. I wish to warn you that your object here is suspected, and to tell you that you may find it somewhat difficult to rejoin him whom I can see you wish to assist."

* An island in Kagoshima Bay.

Okuyama, his hot Southern blood fired in a moment, sprang up from his sitting posture, and his hand instinctively sought the side where his sword would have been had he been at home.

"Am I to consider myself your prisoner?" said he.

"No, boy! Willing as I am to serve the Government, I cannot hand over the son of him whose life was given for mine. I will even run great risk for you, for I will take measures to insure your return to Tokyo, where perhaps you may have friends able to help you further on your journey."

The young man begged his host to forgive his haste and anger, and then earnestly said:—

"My lord and friend, there is one subject I fain would speak with you about before I go my way. Since seeing your adopted daughter, Mitsuyae, I have thought only of her, and if anything would make me prove false to party it would be, with your gracious permission, to stay here and make her my wife. But my word is pledged to Kirino, and nothing on earth must make me go against it. May I hope, if this trouble is settled soon, to claim your permission to ask her to give herself to me?"

"My boy, what you ask is out of my power to grant. She was affianced to Hirai, my nephew, by her father, and neither she nor I can break that compact. Nor would I seek to do so, for Hirai, I know, loves her, and I cannot say she is indifferent to him, although she is not so demonstrative in her affection as he."

It was a great blow to Okuyama to know that Mitsuyae was promised to another; but yet her manner to him and the last words of his host gave some slight hopes.

"If she were willing," he thought, "I would soon cut the cords that bind her through a promise made when she was a child. Could I but obtain an interview with her, I would learn whether Hirai or I the more fills her heart."

At this moment a message was brought to the host, and turning to Okuyama he said:—"I must leave you for a few hours. But I have already given instructions to one whom I can trust to prepare a disguise for you, and you must set out for Tokyo with him this evening."

Okuyama bowed in acquiescence, as his host left the apartment.

The morning being fine, Okuyama resolved on visiting a temple to solicit the favour of the gods upon his journey. Scarcely had he entered the sacred enclosure than he found himself face to face with Mitsuyae,

who was accompanied by an elderly woman of the lord's household! She was greatly confused at seeing him, but this her female companion failed to notice. Nor did the attendant, when Okuyama, intent upon putting in effect his resolution of a few moments ago, went straight to Mitsuyae, consider it her duty to remain by her charge, but, recognizing in him a friend of her lord, discreetly moved to one of the shrines and engaged in her devotions.

"Mitsuyae," said Okuyama. "I find myself in great danger of arrest by enemies of my master. I must leave Sendai secretly to-night, and shall not for a long time have an opportunity of again seeing you. But your beauty and grace have captivated my heart, and if I seem somewhat impetuous in declaring my love for you, I pray you remember that I must do so now or wait a long time. I believe I have read your thoughts aright, but I resolved this morning if I could see you alone to learn from your own sweet lips whether you care for me enough to become my wife."

The impassioned tone of the young man was not lost upon Mitsuyae, and she trembled with a delicious feeling of pleasure as she replied:—

"I do indeed care for you already, and have seen no one that I think so noble as you. But," and a shade of sadness crossed her beautiful face, "my consin Hirai is my affianced husband, and I fear me he will not release me from the compact made by our parents." Then, as the tears came through the silken lashes, she added, "But I will pray for your safe return to Satsuma, and if I never see you again——"

"Say not that, I beseech you, Mitsuyae. You have confessed you love me, and if I live to return to Sendai I will claim you against the world. I ask you to make me one promise, and that is that you will not wed till you either see me again or hear of my death, possibly on the field of battle."

Mitsuyae was a warrior's daughter, so she thought little of the latter part of her lover's request. She knew that men sometimes went to war, and did not question Okuyama as to the reason of his hasty return to Satsuma.

"I promise," said she, "and oh! my dear love, I will pray for you every time I come to the temple!"

At this instant they were rejoined by the attendant, who had made the round of the shrines, and Okuyama had only time to secure the flower from the hair of his beloved as a love-token before the old woman came up.

"I will treasure this," said he, "and before it leaves the breast of Okuyama death will have claimed me as his own."

They then bade each other farewell, and Okuyama, taking the hand of his beloved, whispered just one word:—"Remember!"

Okuyama walked on air the rest of the day, and when night came, and he had donned the dress of a merchant's assistant, he followed his guide with a light heart. His journey to Satsuma was uneventful and safely accomplished, and so we leave him while we follow the stirring events of the period.

The Rebellion had now broken out in earnest. The attack upon the arsenal at Sakurai-shima was followed by open demonstrations against Government property at Kagoshima, and soon Kirino and the two other *shosho* had assembled an army to march to Tokyo for the purpose of making what they called an "inquiry" of the Government. It was said at first that Saigo Takamori held aloof, but was soon compelled by the *shosho* to take command under a threat of instant decapitation if he refused. Oyama, the then Governor of Kagoshima Ken, and an official of the Government, handed over to the rebels 150,000 yen of Government money, established kitchens in the Kencho, and gave those in arms provisions. It was he who received confessions of men of the Kagoshima Shigakko, to the effect that Nakahara Nao and others had attempted to murder Saigo, and immediately had the so-called confessions printed and disseminated, adding that "Saigo and others are allowed to go up to the capital and question the authorities."

The following description of the events which succeeded appeared in the *Hyogo News* at the conclusion of the war:—

"The tide of invasion, for so it may well be called, swept up through Kiushiu, though some of the less sanguine spirits may have seen an omen of evil augury in the defence of Kumamoto Castle (the first objective point of Saigo, and which he wished to make his base of operations) by General Tani, one of the most gallant exploits of the war. The rebels were joined by malcontents of Kiushiu as they proceeded; at one time some detached parties appearing as far north as the neighbourhood of Fukuoka, and at that time it is possible that an estimate of 24,000 as the number of men in open revolt would not be excessive. But electricity and steam were doing their work. Battalion after battalion was landed and the

rebels were pressed back. There is no need to recapitulate all the details. While one army pressed down on them from the north, another was landed south of Kumamoto, and the rebels had to raise the siege. The Imperial troops followed south to Hitoyoshi and drove them from there, whence they fell back on their original base of operations, Kagoshima, which they had left undefended, presumably because they never expected to return to it but in triumph. But they found it occupied by Imperialists who had come by sea (the navy remaining as loyal as the army), and after a fruitless attempt to take it, had to yield to the pressure of the army following them from Hitoyoshi, and retired to Miyakonojo, said to be naturally the strongest place in the province, and a place which had withstood many a severe attack in times gone by; but it did not avail its defenders long, and was evacuated after some heavy fighting, the retreat and pursuit bending east and north-east to Sadowara and the eastern coast, as far north as Nobeoka. Here they made another stand, after a raid of Kirino at the head of a small body of men northwards into Bungo had produced no consequences of importance. It seems to have been expected that the taking of Nobeoka would end the rebellion, but though the place was duly taken, along with almost the whole of the remainder of the rebel army, a small band of devoted men, by concentrating themselves on a comparatively weak point of the encircling army, succeeded in cutting a way through for Saigo, Kirino, and the other principal leaders, who, encumbered, so far as we have ever heard, with nothing but their weapons and the clothes on their backs, disappeared into the hills with a celerity which their pursuers could not equal. It was at first supposed that they would point westwards, but they turned southwards through the hills, and when news was obtained that they were making for Kagoshima, it came too late for them to be stopped. That place was considered so far secure from any immediate disturbance that the defence which had previously been erected had been removed, only a small body of soldiers had been left, and the civil government of the Kencho had been established, so that when the rebels appeared a genuine panic fell upon the place, the Kenrei and chief officials retreating, unnecessarily perhaps, to Nagasaki."

At Kagoshima the rebels obtained but little in the shape of supplies, and being in far too small numbers to hold the town, retreated to Shiroyama, a hill at the back of the city of Kagoshima, and entrenched themselves there.

CHAPTER V.

OKUYAMA had followed his chief, Kirino, through all the vicissitudes of the war, and, though often exposed to most serious dangers, had up to the present escaped without a scratch. He had seen bosom friends struck down by bullets, by the sword, and by the dread scourge of cholera, which towards the closing scenes of the campaign enhanced the horror and misery of those engaged in this fratricidal war. He was one of the five who a few days before that black 24th of September when Saigo and his brave band perished to a man, went to the Commander-in-chief and spoke as follows:—

“Our teacher, we are now defeated. There remain with you only 500 or 600 men, and we are short of ammunition and provisions. The Imperialists have surrounded the mountain and have besides erected ten or twenty rows of bamboo fences. You, however, may succeed even yet in breaking through, and may renew your attempt elsewhere. We are each as tall as you and our countenances resemble yours. Victory and defeat are the lot of the soldier, and when we took up arms for you seven months ago, knowing that we five resembled you somewhat in all but age, we wounded our arms in a similar manner that your arm is wounded, resolved that if the necessity came for us to die for you we would cheerfully do so.”

Each then bared his arm, and Saigo saw that what they said was true. He was inexpressibly touched by this proof of devotion.

Continuing, the brave men said:—“If you make the attempt we counsel it will be the lot of some to fall. When the Imperial troops search after the fight, our bodies will be found, and perchance one of us may be taken for you. The pursuit will then, perhaps, be given up, and you may escape to friends who will shelter you.”

“Ah, my brave friends,” said Saigo, “I honour you for your devotion, but I do not desire you to die for me personally; I only desire that you die fighting bravely. My life must now end, and what more glorious death can I wish for than to die surrounded by such as you and the many brave men who have followed me hither?”

Saigo indeed spake truly. The time *had* come for him to die; for only a few days afterwards came the final assault, and Saigo, while rushing from a covered place to the point where the principal assault was directed,

received a bullet in the right thigh, which passing to the left side caused his life-blood to slowly ebb away. At this juncture one of his followers, seeing his hopeless condition, mercifully put him out of all pain, cutting off his head and hiding it ere he, too, met his fate.

Kirino, Itsuni Juro, Beppu Shinsuke, Godo Masanojo, Gamo Hikojiro, Imamoto Keihachi, and the rest of the brave band of the rank of *Shizoku* all perished with him and were recognized after the fight. Okuyama, as the Imperialists took possession of the hill, received his death wound in the breast from a bayonet, and as he lay slowly dying, an Imperial officer, taking compassion upon the wounded man, stooped down and gave him water from his flask. In a moment Okuyama recognized in his humane opponent the lover of Mitsuyae.

"Hirai," he said faintly, "we met under happier circumstances in Sendai. A dying man sends his regards to your uncle, the lord, and—this flower—to—Mitsuyae. Tell her—I have kept——"

These were the last words of the brave Okuyama, for he died while handing a flower, stained with his life's blood, to Hirai.

Religiously did Hirai carry out the wish of his dead rival, and was rewarded in a manner he did not expect. Mitsuyae told him she had in truth been attracted by the noble appearance of Okuyama, but then she added simply:—

"Till you went away I did not know my own mind. But in your continued absence I learned that I like you better than any other. Your brave acts in the war have made me so proud of you that it hardly needed your nobleness in bringing back my gift, made to one whom you considered your rival, to convince me that I love you very dearly."

What more is there to tell? We can safely leave the happy lovers without entering into particulars as to how the course of true love ran as smooth as they could wish, and without detailing the satisfaction of the lord and his lady thereat.

But perhaps a few lines from an excellent account in the *Hyogo News* of that time may fitly close this story of the Satsuma War, and throw some further light upon the character and deeds of the principal actor therein:—

"Although the name of Saigo is and will remain the most prominent in connection with this great struggle, it is not the least singular thing in

connection with the rising from first to last that the figure of Saigo himself never appeared as a prominent figure upon the canvas till the last closing scenes of all. His adherence to the movement in the beginning seemed doubtful; he seems to have fought throughout by his generals, and there has been no instance of brilliant strategy on a large scale, the renown of the rebels resting upon their tenacity in holding rough ground and their personal courage in hand-to-hand fighting. But the man must have had some great qualities. If as a general he did not allow enough for the chances of failure, the rising showed great powers of organization, and he must have exerted no mean power to hold together to almost the last, as he did for six months, a well-disciplined and well-organized body of men whose history had been a series of defeats and retreats ever since they were overmatched. The personal devotion, likewise, with which he inspired those who surrounded him seems to have been simply absolute throughout, and it is no more testimony to the personal character of the man than we might have expected, to hear of one of his schoolfellows, now a general of the Imperial Guard, crying over his dead body at Kagoshima. . . .

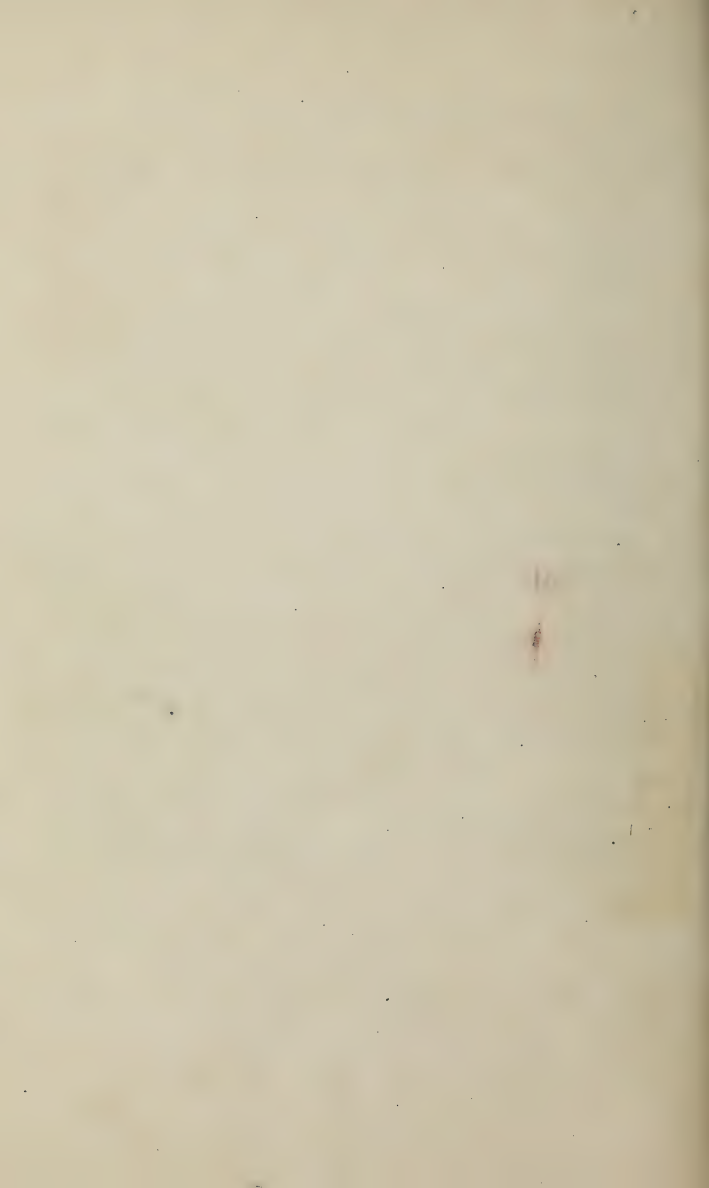
“Politically he may have been wrong, and he may have been actuated by some personal pique, but he was plainly a man of a different and far higher type than the intriguing politician who dies of gout on a bed of down. We like to read of the respect with which his body was treated, and to notice as yet a total absence in the country of the coarse jubilation which would to some extent under the circumstances have been forgiven. The events of the last seven months tell more in favour of the Japanese character than most things that have come under our observation in this country; for a nation which can honour and respect the virtues of a man like Saigo while they acquiesce in the political necessity of his destruction, is capable of much that is great, and it may be that those who come after us will be able to acknowledge that the great dead rebel had a greater power of doing good to his country than a whole Cabinet of live politicians.

“But the leaders in the Rebellion made one grand miscalculation. This was as to the loyalty, both active and passive, with which the nominal resources of the Government in men, material, transport, and money would be used. Saigo's own brother held throughout the highest rank in the Imperial army, though he never took the field. The army and navy were full of Satsuma officers, but with scarcely any exception they served the

Government even as loyally as Saigo himself was served by the devoted band who died around him on that black 24th of September on Shiroyama."

Thus the *Japan Mail* of a recent date (1890):—"Few men have ever been better loved in Japan than was Saigo Takamori, the leader of the Satsuma rebels. At this distance of time it is scarcely possible to estimate the feelings of deep sorrow and bitter repugnance with which his old friends and fellow-clansmen found themselves compelled by the duty of loyalty to take up arms against him. Many of them would gladly have sacrificed their own lives if by so doing they could honourably have avoided the cruel necessity, and history will not fail to give them full credit for the loyal service they performed in those days. . . . In the last fight, when Saigo fell with a bullet wound in his thigh, one of his lieutenants, faithful to the customs of old Japan, struck off his leader's head and then fell on his own sword. The head was hastily buried in order that it might not fall into the hands of the enemy; a humiliation against which Japanese *Samurai* always sought to guard. Discovered shortly afterwards, it was carried to Admiral Count Kawamura, who commanded the Government's troops in that part of the field, and he, with his own hands, reverently washed it, shedding, as we ourselves have heard him frankly admit, bitter tears as he looked for the last time on the face of the brave and noble-minded man whom he had loved so well and honoured so highly. 'Joy, honour, and victory'—truly such words apply in no sense to the feelings awakened in the minds of the leaders of the Government's forces as they took part in the closing episodes of the sad fight. Saigo Takamori's head was buried with his body in his native province, and the men who had assisted in his overthrow were not the last to place flowers and burn incense before his tomb."





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